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LETTERS

FROM

COUNT ALGAROTTI

TO

LORD HARVEY

AND

The Marquis SCIPIO MAFFEI,

Containing the State of the

Trade, Marine, Revenues, and Forces

OF THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE:

WITH THE

Hiſtory of the LATE WAR

BETWEEN THE

RUSSIANS and the TURKS,

AND

Obſervations on the BALTIC and the CASPIAN SEAS.

To which is added,

A Diſſertation on the REIGNS of the Seven KINGS of ROME,

AND

A Diſſertation on the EMPIRE of the INCAS;

By the ſame Author.

Tranſlated from the ITALIAN.

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LETTERS
UPON
RUSSIA, &c.

LETTER I.

To Lord HERVEY, Vice-Chamberlain to the King.

Elſinore, June 10, 1739.

AFTER ſailing nineteen days without meeting with any accident, we at length arrived in the Sound. I am apt to think, my Lord, that journals of their voyages are written daily by people who experience much fewer adventures than we have done. Every traveller, as you know, eaſily perſuades himſelf that the ſeas which he has croſſed are the moſt boiſterous, and the courts which he has ſeen the moſt brilliant in the world: you will, therefore, not

wonder if the details into which I ſhall enter are ſometimes minute.

I ſhall begin then with telling you, that, on the 21ſt of laſt month, we ſailed from Graveſend in the Auguſta frigate. The wind was eaſt, which might be looked upon as a bad omen: but the Captain of the ſhip, my dear Lord Baltimore, whom you know to be one of the beſt of men, made me think more favourably of it, as did alſo the company I found on board.

It conſiſted of young Deſaguliers, whom his father ſent to ſea to learn the practice of navigation; and Mr. King, who had deſired my Lord to give him his paſſage to Peterſburgh, where he intends to exhibit a courſe of experimental philoſophy, in preſence of the Empreſs. Imagine now what quantity of machines we are provided with, to demonſtrate to all the Ruſſias the weight of the air, the centrifugal force, the law of motion, electricity, and all the other philoſophical diſcoveries.

What, however, undoubtedly excels them, is our ample proviſions of lemons and exquiſite wines; and, above all, our French cook.

Some hours after having weighed anchor, we were obliged to drop it again two miles off Sheerneſs, where the Dutch, in their wars with Charles II. burnt the ſhips that were in that

road. I immediately recollected the lines in which Barnwell compares Nero pinching his guittar, during the conflagration of Rome, to King Charles, who, to comfort himſelf for the the melancholy ſight of the burning of his fleet, played upon I know not what other inſtrument.

On the 22d we were obliged to caſt anchor again, in ſight of Harwich, not far from Spigwaſh, a place remarkable for the ſhipwreck of King James and the Duke of Marlborough; for one may apply to your coaſts, what was formerly ſaid in a different ſenſe of the fields about Rome, *nullum ſine nomine ſaxum.*

A circumſtance which gave me great pleaſure, was our being enveloped, as it were, by a fleet of colliers coming from Newcaſtle. Your Lordſhip will agree with me, that ſuch a fleet is not a little comic to behold. Ships, ſails, rigging, mariners, every thing black. One would take it for an armament made in hell. The truth however is, that thoſe coal ſhips, the number of which, as I have been aſſured, amounts to above four hundred, are not of leſs importance than thoſe which go to the cod fiſhery, upon the banks of Newfoundland.

They are the nurſery of the Engliſh marine; and certainly one of the wiſeſt acts of your parliament, is that which prohibits the carrying of

coals by land from Newcaſtle to London. From the number and ſize of theſe veſſels, it is eaſy to judge how vaſt muſt be the conſumption of coals in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom; and how by means of only a ſmall duty *per* ton, a ſum was raiſed in thirty five years, ſufficient to build the magnificent church of St. Paul, which coſt little leſs than a million ſterling.

The 23d, we left behind us Yarmouth and England; and I had, for the firſt time in my life, I know not whether I ſhould ſay the pleaſure, or the diſpleaſure, of finding myſelf in a manner abſtracted from the world; on which ever ſide I looked, ſky and ſea were the only viſible objects.

Towards the evening a briſk gale aroſe from the ſouth-weſt. The log was thrown out, I aſked what rate we went at, and was anſwered two leagues an hour; which taught me, that on the open ſea, they reckoned no longer by miles, (as upon the Thames) but by leagues. The reflexion which immediately occurred to me was, that ſailors, ſo like to gameſters by the great hazard they run, reſemble them likewiſe in that they do not condeſcend to count by trifles.

Whilſt I was amuſing myſelf with this idea, the ſcene changed. He who ventures upon the waves muſt expect ſtorms. I ſhall not ſtop to

deſcribe that which we underwent, and which laſted ſix whole days. You will find it, my Lord, in Homer, or in Virgil: only believe, that the *terque quaterque beati* was not wanting in favour of thoſe who were upon land, nor the facetious Moliere's, *what the deuce had he to do in that curſed galley?*

Toſſed about by immenſe billows; which, after having liſted me up to the clouds, threatened to bury me at the bottom of the deep; ſeeing the ocean transformed into about half a ſcore enormous mountains, very different from the little hillocks of our Mediterranean, I aſſure you, my Lord, that theſe exclamations did not paſs my lips, and that I had ſcarcely ſtrength enough left to utter them. Let it ſuffice to tell you, that after tacking about for ſome time, with a view to put in at Newcaſtle, that deſign was altered; that, on the 30th, we at length made land at the iſle of Schelling, in Holland, and that the next day we anchored at Harlingen, which is much better provided with the neceſſaries of life.

You know, my Lord, the towns of Holland; whoever has ſeen one of them, has ſeen them all. Every where the houſes are built after the ſame manner, the ſtreets run in ſtrait lines, canals water them, rows of trees ſhade them, and the

cleanlineſs is even ſcrupulouſly nice. Such is Harlingen, from whence we ſailed the firſt of this month, after having laid in a freſh ſtore of proviſions. A briſk ſouth-weſt wind took us out of the ſhallows and rocks, which all thoſe coaſts are full of, and carried us three good leagues an hour till the morning of the next day.

Here, my Lord, another ſtorm: but I will paſs it over with only telling you, that it laſted with great violence near two days; that we were on the point of cutting away our main maſt, the extraordinary height of which ſhook the body of the ſhip too much, when the ſea began to calm; and that, on the fourth, its waters became quite ſmooth.

The 5th, fair wind: the 6th, we judged by an obſervation of the height of the ſun, on the exactneſs of which we could not however quite depend, that we were in fifty-eight degrees of latitude, and towards the evening we diſcovered Jutland on the ſouth-eaſt. The thickneſs of the fog prevented our diſtinguiſhing the Scha-Rif: this is a point of land, which ſeparates the ocean from the Daniſh ſea; and which, I aſſure you, we ſought for with all our eyes and hearts. At length, the day before yeſterday, the lead informed us that we had doubled it. Yeſterday

we left on the left hand, or (to ſpeak more properly) to the eaſt, the coaſt of Holland, ſo formidable to ſailors, becauſe it riſes perpendicular from the ſea, and affords neither ſhore nor anchorage; and at four o'clock in the afternoon we caſt anchor at Elſinore, from whence I now write.

You ſee, my Lord, that if I was at all inclined to enter into minute particulars, I could eaſily make a complete journal of our voyage, and even embelliſh it with ſcientific narrations. I might tell you, for example, that on the 23d of laſt month, about midnight, we perceived an *aurora borealis*, in the ſhape of a bow, the ſummit of which faced the weſt, and was interſected, ſo far as it was poſſible for me to judge, by the azimuth of the declenſion of the needle, which was from ten to twelve degrees weſt; a circumſtance which agrees well with what I have heard at Greenwich, from the mouth of your old Eudoxus Halley, who ſeeks for affinities, as well of the direction of the load-ſtone, as of emiſſion of the vapour which forms the northern lights, with the poles of the neucleus he ſuppoſes in the earth.

I ſhould likewiſe tell you, that one day when we were becalmed, Mr. King anatomized before us, with great dexterity, the eye of a ſheep,

whoſe body was afterwards as cleverly dreſſed by our Martial. He ſhewed us the coroides of it, which was green, and aſſured us that is its conſtant colour in all animals that feed upon graſs. Has nature given them that coat, fit only to reflect green rays, in order that the graſs ſhould make the ſtronger impreſſion on their eyes, and that there ſhould he a kind of attraction between thoſe animals and their food? Or is it, my Lord, that theſe coroides, by continually reflecting green rays, ſoon becomes of that colour, and can then no longer reflect any other? In fact do we know the phyſical force of cuſtom, and the changes it may make in our organization? Did not your predeceſſor Demoſthenes, by dint of practice, at length learn to pronounce diſtinctly the letter P, which nature ſeemed to have rendered him incapable of? A perſon who ſhould for a long time repeat only the ſame word, would perhaps become dumb in regard to all others.

I likewiſe made, a few days ago, an obſervation in optics, which proves, that the errors of our ſenſes generally ſerve to rectify the judgments of our mind. You know, my Lord, that of two very diſtant objects, that which is moſt lighted ſeems the neareſt. Two ſhips were ſteering the ſame courſe, at a very great diſtance

from us; only one of them received the rays of the ſun, and it ſeemed to me the neareſt; but when they were both in the ſame line with my eye, the lighted ſhip diſappeared and was eclipſed by the other; ſo that that which I judged to be the fartheſt off, was in reality the neareſt by a full half league.

But to have done with ſea adventures and phaenomena; for I perceive that you are impatient to hear ſomething about this land, and that is principally what can intereſt your curioſity. The ſea grows ſo narrow here, between Denmark and Sweden, that it is not wider than the Thames at Graveſend. This Streight differs from all others, in that no current is obſerved in it, unleſs it be agitated by a north or a ſouth wind; but in return, either of theſe, not meeting with any reſiſtance, forms inſtantly a very rapid one, according to its impulſe.

The coaſts of Sweden are wild and naked; on the contrary, thoſe of Denmark, that is to ſay, of Zealand, are ſmiling, and well cultivated. Surely, if they had always been ſo agreeable, the Teutons would not have abandoned them to ſeek elſewhere for ſettlements, and cut out work for our Marius's. The truth is, that they may now vie with even the fields of England. Their turfed groves, the gentle ſlop of their

hills, their meadows which deſcend into the ſea, and emerald green which ſhades the whole, form a moſt pleaſing ſight.

The magnificent Caſtle of Cronenburgh riſes in a pictureſque manner upon the ſhore: it is covered with copper, and, by means of its citadel, it gives laws to the Sound. This caſtle ſeems to look down with diſdain upon poor Helſenberg, which, on the oppoſite ſhore, returns the ſalute to the ſhips that, on entering into this ſtreight, do homage to the Daniſh Dardanelles. This wretched little town is not, however, deſtitute of glory: in the time of Charles XII. ſhe ſaw from her towers Swediſh peaſants, commanded by Steinbock, cut in pieces the beſt troops of Denmark.

We ride here in the midſt of, perhaps, an hundred ſhips; ſome go, others come, and every inſtant new ones arrive. There is always in this road a Daniſh frigate on guard: ſhe collects the tolls, which amount to near thirty thouſand pounds ſterling a-year.

I read lately in Lord Moleſworth's account of Denmark, that the Hanſe towns of the Baltic gave formerly a ſum of money yearly to the Danes, for them to keep beacons upon this paſſage, nearly in the ſame manner as ſhips now pay in England, a kind of contribution towards

keeping a floating light-house at the Nore, etc. But, since that, Denmark having increased considerably in power, and the Hanse towns having lost the greatest part of theirs; what was at first a matter of agreement, has in time been made a claim of right. How many similar metamorphoses do we discover, my Lord, in history, which cannot be called by any better name than the annals of fraud and violence? Be that as it may, the King of Denmark, master of the entrance of the Sound, is precisely to the Baltic, what the King of Sardinia, sovereign of the Alps, is at this day to Italy.

However, the toll which each vessel pays, according to its burthen, is not very considerable; it is only the number of ships that can make it amount so high. It is computed that, one year with another, upwards of two thousand passes annually through the Sound. In this number are reckoned six hundred Swedish; they being by the last treaty subject to this kind of tribute, from which they were formerly exempted; a thousand Dutch, who, from their marshes, go to seek in the North for iron, planks, pitch, hemp, corn, and, in general, almost every necessary of life; three or four hundred English, and three or four French. Lubeck, a city greatly fallen from her ancient splendor, scarce-

ly furniſhes more; nor does Dantzick, which however ſtill makes ſome figure. Laſtly, the Ruſſians, who, like the Americans a few years ago, ranked navigation among the arts of another world, ſend two or three.

Juſt one ſhip of that nation, with a great Dutch belly, lay this morning pretty near us: the whole crew of it is Ruſſian, according to the report of the Captain of the Daniſh frigate, a man equally civil and intelligent. I cannot, my Lord, expreſs the pleaſure which all theſe new objects give me: I think myſelf almoſt tranſported into another univerſe.

But our Ship is getting under ſail: I cloſe my letter, and ſend it to the Conſul, who will convey it to you at St. James's. Vouchſafe, my Lord, not to forget a poor traveller, who ſailing to the North-eaſt, caſts his eyes from time to time upon the rhumb of the compaſs that is to guide him back to you.

LETTER II.

To the ſame.

Revel, June 17, 1639.

ON the tenth, as I before wrote to you, my Lord, we ſailed from Elſinore; and it was in the company with forty or fifty ſhips which we ſoon got a-head of. An hour after, we left on the Eaſt the iſland of Huen, or Uranienburgh, heretofore the reſidence of Tycho-Brache. You know, my Lord, the philoſophical pilgrimage which Picard made thither in the laſt century, and the deplorable condition of that heavenly iſle, in which there are only two half-covered huts, and ſcarce any veſtige of that famous obſervatory where Tycho made obſervations, which, though prior to the teleſcope, conſtitute aeras in the hiſtory of aſtronomy.

The ſituation of this iſland, placed exactly at the entrance of the Sound, renders it of great importance; and a fort, with artillery, ſeem fitter for it than an obſervatory and aſtrolabes; eſpecially as, notwithſtanding its bold riſing from the

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ſea, its horizon is not ſo free as an aſtronomer would wiſh, and as might be expected from an iſland.

At about two o'clock we paſſed almoſt cloſe by Copenhagen, and the ſeamen made us notice that the water there is more tranſparent than in other places. We counted in the port upwards of thirty ſhips of war upon the ſtocks, and they ſeemed to me the fineſt I had ever ſeen. The King's new palace ſtands conſpicuous in the middle of the city; it is not yet finiſhed; and, we are aſſured, that it will be extremely magnificent.

We likewiſe coaſted the little iſland of Amak, which ſupplies Copenhagen with garden-ſtuff: a part of it is inhabited by Dutchmen. It is ſaid, on this occaſion, that Chriſtian II, having married Iſabella, ſiſter of Charles V, deſired the Archdutcheſs Margaret, their aunt, Governeſs of the Low-Countries, to ſend ſome good Flemiſh Gardeners, in order that the Queen's table might be more elegantly ſerved; and that ſhe ſent them ſome Dutch families, who ſettled in the iſland of Amak, as the Venetian Gondoliers, that Louis XIV ſent for, did at Verſailles.

Having afterwards run gently a-ground, to avoid a bank called the Draker, we paſſed over againſt Humblebeck, a hamlet ſituated ſeven

miles from Copenhagen, where Charles the XII landed; when, at the age of eighteen, he beſieged that capital by land, and blocked it up by ſea. We had juſt before ſailed over the place where Charles XI, with his army, croſſed the ſea on foot, truſting both his perſon, and the principal forces of his kingdom, to a cruſt of ice.

Turning afterwards to the Eaſt, we ſtood out at ſea off Cape Falſtarbo, ſituated in Scania, and one of the moſt dangerous paſſes of the Baltic. We took care to drop the lead, from time to time, in theſe ſeas, where the Czar Peter the Great had ſo often caſt it, when, in 1716, commanding his fleet combined with thoſe of the Danes, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, his campaign terminated in an exact ſounding of all theſe coaſts.

In this manner it was that we proceeded from Scha-Rif to that of Falſterbo, ſailing almoſt in the middle of two nations, which, for having been cloſely united formerly, are but the more divided now. The greateſt animoſity reigns beween them. The ſea is the field of glory of the one, and the land that of the other. In effect, it appears that the Swedes, born in a barren mountainous country, full of mines of iron, muſt naturally be fitteſt for military exerciſes;

and that the Danes, who inhabit a number of iſlands, and who poſſeſs Norway, a kingdom ſituated upon the ocean, and addicted only to navigation, muſt have the advantage therein. Beſides four thouſand ſeamen, whom the King of Denmark keeps always ready at Copenhagen, Norway can furniſh him ſixteen thouſand excellent ones.

As to the reſt, you know, my Lord, how much the Swedes have, of late years, applied themſelves to the ſea, to manufactures, and commerce. Free countries, of which Sweden now is one, are the only proper climates for thoſe arts. Your Parliament has great reaſon to be alarmed at the new regulation lately publiſhed at Stockholm, which prohibits the importation of all foreign manufactures: ſo that if England continues to take iron from the Swedes, inſtead of an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, ſhe will have with them a paſſive trade, which will coſt her upwards of three hundred thouſand every year. And who can tell what they will make of their iron, when they ſhall export it ready wrought?

It is incredible, ſaid to us the Engliſh Conſul at Elſinore, what numbers of Swediſh ſhips now ſail the ſeas, whilſt in the days of deſpotiſm ſcarce any of that nation were ſeen. One may form

ſome idea of this matter from the ſix hundred ſhips which paſs the Streight every year, and in which are not comprized thoſe that traffic only in the Baltic, or which are fitted out at Gottenburgh, a port ſituated beyond the Sound.

Among ſeveral regulations made by the States of Sweden, to encourage the maritime commerce of their country, I will inſtance to you only that which allows officers of the King's ſhips to take employment on board of merchant ſhips, to exerciſe themſelves in navigation, and continue to be uſeful to the republic; which is of a piece with that other, ſo antient among them, whereby all their ſoldiers are huſbandmen during peace. Each province has its regiments formed of the inhabitants of the country, and the government gives to the officers a houſe and a portion of land, ſo that they live amidſt their ſoldiers, as an abbot among his monks: they call them together, make them go through their exerciſes, and review them at regular ſtated times. Count Monteculi, how was long priſoner in Sweden, in the war which laſted thirty years, endeavoured to introduce this practice in the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria.

After having paſſed Falſterbo, we coaſted, on the eleventh, the iſland of Bornholm; on the

twelfth, that of Gothland; on the thirteenth, ſaw the little iſland of Faro; and, on the fourteenth, after a calm of ſome hours, there aroſe ſo thick a fog, that not to run upon the iſland of Dagho, ſituated at the mouth of the gulph of Finland, we were obliged to reef our ſails, and advance ſlowly, the lead-line in hand. The depth leſſened all at once, and we were forced to tack about and ſteer off. Towards evening the wind freſhened, the fog ſtill continuing, which in narrow ſeas is more dangerous than a ſudden ſquall upon the ocean. I then ſaid to the wind, as Ajax did to Jupiter,

Diſpel this cloud, the light of Heaven reſtore;
Give us to ſee!

But I only muttered it to myſelf. Seamen do not like to hear talk of the wind, the weather, or the road they are going; they are full of ſuperſtitions, and in that again they reſemble gameſters; the one or the other would ſubject to combinations and rules, what is abſolutely the effect of mere chance. At length the fog diſperſed, and we entered the gulph about midnight. Though the ſky was not ſerene, the air was ſo clear, that I could read with eaſe. In this climate, towards the ſummer ſolſtice, the degree of light at midnight anſwers to that of

Italy, in the ſame ſeaſon, a quarter of an hour after ſun-ſet: and if one cannot ſay here, like thoſe who go upon the whale fiſhery, in the frozen ſea, at midnight fine ſun; nothing prevents ſaying, at leaſt, at midnight fine light.

Without thoſe long twilights it would be impoſſible to navigate in theſe narrow ſeas, filled as they are, from one end to the other, with iſlands, banks, and rocks. What difference between the immenſe plains of your ocean, and this Baltic, where one meets every day new lands. I proteſt to you, my Lord, that one pays very dear in bad weather, for the pleaſure which the ſight of them affords when it is fine. Accordingly from November to April, few ſhips dare venture in this ſea.

On the fifteenth, we anchored off Revel. Deſirous as we were to get Ruſſia as ſoon as poſſible, we were ſtill leſs tempted to put in at this capital of Eſtonia, than we had been to ſtop at Copenhagen, which was far more inviting to us; when a South-weſt wind, which filled our ſails to our wiſhes, at once ſunk. "The ſea," ſays an Italian poet, "is like human life; "inſtability is its portion. The hope, with "which man lulls himſelf, is as deceitful as the "joy to which it gives birth is tranſient; fine "weather, like fine days, laſts but a moment."

Juſt ſo, inſtead of that pleaſing South-weſt wind, there aroſe a North-eaſt one, which blowing with incredible impetuoſity, threatened to drive us directly upon the moſt frightful of all the coaſts. Happily we were ſtill before that Revel which we deſpiſed; ſhe received us into her boſom, after we had undergone a juſt fear of ſtriking againſt certain rocks upon the ſhore of the iſland of Ulffoon, which lies at the entrance of the harbour. The fog did not ſuffer us to diſtinguiſh them; and it was not till we were on the very point of touching them, that the ſurge which foamed around them declared our danger.

After having eſcaped it, we dropt anchor at about ſeven o'clock, within a mile of the town. The agitation of the ſea was violent all the night, this road being particularly expoſed to the North-eaſt.

The manner in which we were landed is quite agreeable. In ſtormy weather the pinnance is taken on board, and kept covered there. Our's was on board; my Lord and I ſtept into it; none elſe choſe to be our party. The ſailors of which our little crew conſiſted, were ſtationed each to his poſt; one at the ſteerage, one at the foot of the maſt to hoiſt up the ſail, the reſt at the head and along the ſide, with boat-

hooks to prevent our daſhing againſt the frigate. Our ſwing was to be executed in muſical meaſure. Two ropes which proceeded, one from the head and the other from the ſtern of the pinance, being well faſtened together, the longeſt was paſſed over the pully at the end of the yard of the main-maſt. At the firſt whiſtle,. we are up in the air; they wait a moment for the wave then riſing againſt the ſide of the ſhip to retire, and a ſecond whiſtle, making the rope run, lets us down at once into the ſea. Inſtantly our ſeamen execute diligently their manoeuvres, they puſh us off, turn the head towards land, whip up the ſail, our ſteerſman parries dexterouſly monſterous waves, which threaten to ſwallow us up, we paſs over them, and, in the twinkling of an eye, we are on ſhore.

Such was the rapidity with which we went, that we could hardly ſee in our way a very fine mole, furniſhed with a numerous artillery, which forms the port of Revel, and two other batteries on a level with the water, whieh defend its entrance. The reſt of the fortifications is not ſo conſiderable: the moſt important are on the ſide next the land; and yet they cannot be compared in any ſhape to thoſe of Riga, the capital of Livonia, and frontier of the empire in this part. They are now repairing, and a detachment of

good workmen is daily expected in this city from Ruſſia. It conſiſts of ſix hundred Turkiſh ſlaves, and as many Chriſtian malefactors.

Here, inſtead of hanging a criminal, he is condemned, as formerly in Egypt, to labour at the public works; and this puniſhment, which you in England would deem an exceſſive rigour, is ſcarcely ſufficient to reſtrain a race of barbarians, ignorant even of the name of Liberty, that propitious deity, which according to the expreſſion of one of their poets, a miniſter of ſtate, enlivens and embelliſhes the very rocks and deſarts of the countries ſhe deigns to inhabit.

The garriſon of Revel conſiſts of three regiments. The ſoldiers belonging to them are not remarkable for their height; but in return they are ſtrong made, robuſt and very well diſciplined: we were told, that there was among them a conſiderable number of Tartars. You may imagine, my Lord, with what attention I looked at troops, which have furniſhed in our days ſo many materials for hiſtory. An Engliſh merchant ſettled in this city, and who is our antiquary here, obſerving that I ſtopped often to conſider them, told me, that I ſhould ſee quite another thing at Peterſburgh.

Though no ſhips are built here, and they are only careened and ſheathed, we were not

the leſs pleaſed at ſeeing the admiralty, at the head of which is a certain Engliſh Oliver, well verſed, as we were aſſured, in naval architecture. The inſtructions which he gave us for the reſt of our voyage came very ſeaſonably. We have experienced, that the ſea-charts are by no means correct, and in all our crew there is but one man who ever ſailed upon the Baltic; he too, through age and brandy, has loſt his memory. We likewiſe received ſome inſtructions from the captain of a frigate, which is conſtantly ſtationed at Revel. This is the firſt Ruſſian ſhip of war that I have yet ſeen. I aſſure you, my Lord, it would figure well among the Engliſh. Both here and in Denmark, the uniform of the ſailors, as well as that of the ſoldiers, has a very fine effect.

Notwithſtanding the ſhips of war, the garriſon, the fortifications, and the artillery, the people here bleſs the government, and are, I believe, the only ones; but, in truth, they have cauſe ſo to do. All the privileges which they enjoyed when the Ruſſians poſſeſſed themſelves of this province, in the time of Charles XII. were not only confirmed to them then, but which is more extraordinary, they have been religiouſly reſpected to this day; ſo that thoſe Livonian writers, who have ſpoken ſo virulently

of the Ruſſians, would probably recant if they were to come again into the world.

It is not ſubject to any burthen; the principal revenue of the empire here, conſiſting in certain lands, called *Crown Lands*, which once belonged to Sweden. Theſe people govern themſelves by their own laws, which are the ſame as thoſe of Lubeck; Revel having formerly been a Hanſe town. It ſtill keeps a company of ſoldiers, who are immediately dependent on the magiſtracy, and mount guard every night with the Ruſſians. It is hardly ſo much as known here, that the empire is at war with the Turks, the people of this place not contributing any thing towards the expence of the war: and accordingly there reigns every where among them a profound ſilence with reſpect to matters of ſtate. A man, who ſhould expect to find gazettes and news-papers in the coffee-houſes of Revel, as at London, would be greatly diſappointed.

But, my Lord, when I ſpeak of the happineſs of theſe people, we muſt except that part, the moſt numerous of all, which cultivates the earth; that part, ſo ſlighted and ſo deſerving of reſpect, whoſe happineſs Virgil has ſo harmoniouſly ſung, and which is certainly a ſtranger to it in theſe countries. The peaſants here are ſlaves, as in Poland and Ruſſia; their owner

ſells them like the cattle which they rear. Accordingly, it is not ſaid here, ſuch an one has ſo much income; but ſuch an one has ſo many thouſands of peaſants. The yearly product, which they bring in to their Lord, is eſtimated at a rouble a head. It is really ſhocking to ſee theſe poor wretches; humanity ſhudders, and is incenſed at their appearance. Figure to yourſelf, my Lord, ſkeletons in rags, with a livid countenance and a filthy beard. The women, even before the firſt bloom of youth is well paſt, no longer retain any veſtige of their ſex; but in their dreſs and behaviour, are exactly like their hideous huſbands.

The town is of a piece with the inhabitants of the country. The houſes in it look more like granaries than any thing elſe; one reaſon for which may perhaps alſo be, that the principal trade of the province conſiſts in corn. It is very plentiful throughout all Livonia, and perfect in its quality. The Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch, fetch it away in large quantities; and theſe laſt, among other commodities, bring in exchange for it a great deal of ſalt, which they go for to the Mediterranean. There is likewiſe a very great conſumption of it in Ruſſia; the common food of the ſoldiers, and of

the generality of the people there, being bread and ſalt.

One would ſcarcely believe, from any firſt account, that countries, bathed by the ſea, ſhould be under the neceſſity of importing ſalt: but the ſaltneſs of the ſea is in proportion to the heat of the climate, and the waters of the Baltic might almoſt be called freſh, in compariſon to thoſe of the Mediterranean. Throughout the greateſt part of Ruſſia; from the Caſpian ſea to Moſcow, and ſtill farther North, their ſalt is brought from Aſtracan; and foreigners ſupply the Northern provinces of the empire with it, as well as with tobacco, an American ſuperfluity; the uſe of which has inſenſibly ſpread ſo much, that it forms a conſiderable part of the revenue of the European governments. Ruſſia, in exchange for it, beſides corn, gives hemp, flax, and timber.

The greateſt part of the trade of this province is carried on at Riga, where in ſome years, there come upwards of two hundred Dutch ſhips, beſides a very great number from Sweden. Eſthonia and Livonia were, and ſtill are, the Egypt and the Sicily of Sweden; without them it could not ſubſiſt. Accordingly the treaty of Aland allows the Swedes to take annually a certain quantity of laſts of corn, free of all duty.

In the middle of the granaries of Revel, a

triumphal arch of wood, erected in honour of that Catherine, who, at Pruth, ſaved the Czar and the Empire, and was worthy to ſucceed Peter the Great, ſurprized me not a little. The taſte of the architecture, and the ſtile of the inſcriptions, reminded me, in thoſe Northern regions, of the South of Europe.

I was likewiſe not a little ſurprized to find here a ſort of tea, exquiſitely well flavoured, and of which the flowers were ſtill upon the ſtalk: it was eaſy to judge that it could not be a production of this country which was ſcarcely delivered from the ſnows, and, though in the middle of June, trees hardly begin to be in ſap. This tea comes from China to Peterſburgh by the caravans; that is ſaid to be what keeps it ſo freſh: as it is a very delicate plant, the ſmell of the hold of a ſhip always corrupts it a little. I ſend you a ſample of it, my Lord, as to a lover, I might ſay a profeſſor, of tea; and I embark again in the pinnance, to return on board, and continue our voyage.

LETTER III.

To the ſame.

Cronſlot, June 21, 1639.

AFTER having ſpent near a month upon the ſea, we are at length ſet down upon the wiſhed-for land. To finiſh the journal of our voyage, for without being aware of it, I think I have led myſelf into one, I will tell you, my Lord, that on the 17th, about eleven o'clock in the morning, we weighed anchor from Revel, and with the help of a gentle South-weſt wind, we paſſed happily between the Revel ſtone, the Devil's eye, and the other monſters of this coaſt; though not without running great riſks.

Oliver's inſtructions ſerved us for a pilot, and pointed out to us the dangerous places. We were likewiſe warned of them by ſtreamers of different colours, as one is upon the coaſts of England and Holland, by floating caſks. They are faſtened to great croſſes of wood fixed in the middle of the rocks. Two Ruſſian galliots

viſit conſtantly theſe roads, to ſee that the ſtreamers are in their proper places: their buſineſs likewiſe is to find out new rocks, and to this end they are perpetually ſounding. In 1515, one was diſcovered in the middle of the gulph, by the wreck of a Dutch man of war, which was ſailing in the midſt of a ſquadron, in the fineſt weather that could be: only five or ſix of the crew were ſaved. This rock was five or ſix feet under water, and ſo ſharp, that it ſplit the keel from head to ſtern, and in the ſame inſtant laid the ſhip open.

If an thing is to be wondered at, it is that ſuch fatal accidents do not happen oftener. Before the foundation of Peterſburgh, it was ſeldom that any one penetrated into this ſea, beyond Revel and Narva. Men were not then attracted thither by the proſpect of gain, as they are now; almoſt all the trade of Ruſſia having been transferred from Archangel to the New Capital. Whatever inſtructions one may have, it is therefore neceſſary not to advance but with the lead in hand. The Dutch chart of the Baltic of Abraham Maas, which we have found to be the beſt of all, ſuperior to that of your Admiral Norris, is often defective, as ſoon as one begins to enter the gulph: and you know, my Lord,

that in matters of Navigation no faults are ſmall ones, any more than in phyſic and in war.

On the 18th, we paſſed the iſle of Hogland; and at noon we diſcovered Saeſkar, which is but ten miles from Cronſlot: this gave us good hopes. We had, however, ſtill to guard againſt a current which runs with great rapidity from Cronſlot to Hogland, and bears very ſtrong againſt the coaſt of Finland; yet more to be dreaded than that of Ingria and Eſthonia, on account of ſeveral prominent ridges of rocks, which defend the ſhore like ſo many out-works. Don't you think, my Lord, that our voyage would have a conſpicuous figure in the Odyſſey, or the Eneid? Yet not the leaſt mention will be made of it; though by the price of inſurances, which may be called the thermometer of trade, it is eaſy to ſee that the navigation of the Baltic is reckoned the moſt dangerous of all.

The ſame day, towards evening, we anchored within cannot ſhot of Cronſlot, to which place a Ruſſian Pilot guided us through a very winding canal. He was ſent to us by the man of war ſtationed to guard the coaſt, where a ſhip of that kind lies always at anchor, four miles from Cronſtadt. Cronſlot is a caſtle which defends the entrance of the port of this iſland. It is ſituated at the mouth of the Neva, which, fal-

ling into the lake Ladoga, after having bathed the walls of Peterſburgh, empties itſelf into the gulph. This river, the impetuoſity of which is not abated by this narrow, and far from deep, ſea, is the cauſe of the current which runs, as I ſaid before, from Cronſlot to Hogland, and throws veſſels upon the coaſt of Finland.

The Czar had no ſooner formed the deſign of founding Peterſburgh, than he ſaw the importance of Cronſtadt, which is its firſt outwork; and he accordingly fortified it in ſuch a manner, that few places in the world can be compared to it. Figure to yourſelf, my Lord, that, to enter into the port, one muſt paſs between Cronſlot, a fortreſs with four baſtions, and a battery called St. Peter's, mounted with upwards of an hundred pieces of cannon; and that an enemy would have to encounter the fire of all this artillery. That is not all; to go up to the canal, which leads to the port, the wind muſt be preciſely in one corner, ſo narrow is the paſſage; and if the ſignals, which point out the rocks and ſhoals, were taken away, it would be impoſſible for the moſt ſkilful pilot to avoid them: yet there is not any other road to take. Out of the canal, there is not above five or ſix feet depth of water upon the coaſt of Ingria,

and upon that of Finland, there is not enough to carry ſhips of war.

Moſt of the cannons which defend Cronſlot are of iron; but ſo neatly made, and ſo well burniſhed, that they look like ſteel. All the works are of wood; but it is intended to make them of ſtone, and this has been already begun to be executed upon part of the mole. A magnificent canal is now finiſhing, the keys of which are of a ſtone that is brought from the neighbourhood of Narva, and which is truly a work worthy of the Romans. It is wide enough for two large ſhips to paſs conveniently a-breaſt, and its depth is in proportion; it is to be upwards of a mile and a half long. At its extremity will be dry docks for ſhips of war. The Czar, who planned this undertaking, had therein two capital objects; the one to provide for the preſervation of the ſhips, which rot in the freſh water of the Neva; the other by drawing them thus up upon land, to ſecure them againſt any bombardment.

You know, my lord, that the marine was the favourite object of Peter the great. He uſed to ſay, that an Engliſh admiral is greater than a Czar. Beſides the numerous advantages of which navigation is the ſource, what made this *Mediterranean* prince particularly fond of it, was per-

haps likewiſe that his creative genius found more room to exert itſelf in this branch than in any other.

We talk of maritime affairs all the day long with Admiral Gordon; that venerable old Scotchman, at whoſe houſe we are lodged. He lately commanded the Ruſſian fleet at Dantzick, and is one of the moſt amiable ſeafaring men in the whole world. The marine is likewiſe the general ſubject of our converſation at rear-admiral O Brian's, who left England to enter into the ſervice of this crown. I can therefore aſſure you, my lord, that I ſhould now be able to talk like a ſeaman, even with your brother captain Hervey.

But to cut ſhort the encomiums which I might be apt to beſtow upon the Ruſſian marine, in this firſt moment of enthuſiaſm; methinks I already hear you ſay, what is inconteſtibly true, that a nation which has not a great number of merchant ſhips, cannot poſſibly keep up many ſhips of war, and that for want of hands to work them. How can ſailors be got in a country whoſe trading ſhips a man may count upon his fingers ends? Upon what can an embargo be laid in caſe of need?

Every prince who has men, can ſoon make ſoldiers of them. A labourer, a peaſant, be-

comes eaſily accuſtomed to marches, to heat, to cold, to the fatigues and exerciſes of war. Sailors are not ſo ſpeedily created; they muſt have been habituated almoſt from their very infancy, to the air of the ſea, to another element, to a new kind of life as it were: which made a very ſenſible gentleman ſay, that a marine was the only thing a great prince could not make. Therefore the Ruſſians, who do not poſſeſs a very extenſive maritime country, and who neither have, nor can have a Cromwel's act of navigation, ſhould be content to ſhare with the Turks the empire of the land, and confine themſelves to that through neceſſity, as their neighbours have done out of choice.

The Ruſſians ſtrive however to remedy theſe inconveniences, as much as they can, and it may be ſaid that they almoſt force nature. Every year they make expeditions up the Baltic, with ſquadrons of ſeven or eight ſhips full of young men, whom old ſeamen inſtruct; and in time theſe pupils become a ſort of ſailors themſelves. Very lately, there were ten or twelve thouſand of them, almoſt all of whom periſhed upon the ſea of Azoph, to which the government had ſent them to man little fleets fitted out againſt the Turks, on account of the preſent war.

Caſan could formerly have furniſhed ſailors e-

nough for the navigation of the Don, without its being neceſſary to ſend them from ſo great a diſtance. This city had alſo in the time of Peter the great, a well provided arſenal, which by the changes that have happened in the political ſyſtem, is now abſolutely neglected. In ſhort, the Ruſſian marine ſeems greatly fallen; the number of ſeamen now reſiding at Cronſtadt is reduced to a few hundreds: ſo that the work of the Engliſh, who preſides here over the department of the ſea, has been in a manner annihilated by the Germans, who are at the head of the land forces.

The Czar aſſigned to the admiralty an income of three thouſand pounds ſterling; an immenſe ſum in a country where the government does with two ſhillings what it would be impoſſible to get down in England for a guinea. He ordered, that this ſum ſhould never be applied to any other uſe, on any account whatſoever: you know, my lord, the common fate of the wills of princes; and accordingly it is aſſerted, that in this war among others, the intention of the founder has been not a little departed from.

Appearances are however as deceitful here as in other places: upon entering Cronſtadt, one would think all Ruſſia buſied ſolely about her marine. The firſt object we perceived was a ſhip

of war, of an enormous bulk, the rigging of which was then working at: it is perhaps the hugeſt machine that now floats upon the waters; it is pierced for an hundred and forty guns, which are to be all of braſs, and the inſides of it are as much ornamented with carvings as the Empreſs's pleaſure boats. It is called the *Anne*, from the name of the ſovereign, and was built by one Brown, an Engliſhman. The model which he made for it is a ſixty gun ſhip; a model worthy of the grandeur and majeſty of this empire.

We anchored cloſs by the *Anne*, which would deſerve to have the ocean to range in, inſtead of this hole the gulph of Finland. Probably, ſome years hence, ſhe may ſail in company with thirty or forty other ſhips now lying in the ſame harbour. Among them we diſtinguiſhed the *Catharine*, which was the Czar's favourite ſhip, and the *Peter*, built exactly according to a drawing of his own. This laſt has the handſomeſt and moſt ornamented ſtern I ever beheld; it was the admiral ſhip in the expedition againſt Dantzick. All the ſhips, ſome careening, others rigging out, and others again ready to put to ſea, form the moſt pictureſque effect that can be imagined: a Vandevelde would ſtudy them with as much attention, as Pannini does

the ruins of a temple or of the Coliſæum. There are eighteen or twenty of them fit to ſail.

But of what uſe can theſe huge ſhips be on ſo narrow a ſea, whoſe very middle too is navigable only within the compaſs of a few miles? Such however was the prevailing paſſion of the Czar: he would have ſhips; he would have them of the firſt rate, and what is more, he would have them built in his own neighbourhood, than which he could not have choſen a more improper place. Men of this profeſſion think that the arſenal and the admiralty ſhould rather have been placed at Revel, than at Peterſburgh and Cronſtadt where they are.

In effect, at Revel the water is ſalt, at leaſt as much ſo as the Baltic can be, and ſhips keep longer ſound in it. The ice there takes later and melts ſooner than upon the Neva; ſo that they might have gone out earlier and with leſs danger. This is the reaſon why the Swediſh fleets were always at ſea ſeveral weeks before thoſe of the Ruſſians, whatever diſpatch theſe laſt made; and ſo again, blocked up with ice in the harbour of Archangel and in the White Sea, the Dutch always anticipated them in the whale fiſhery.

There is yet more, ſay judges: when both the river and the canal of Cronſtadt are at length

clear of ice, ſo that ſhips may go down them and put to ſea, the wind muſt be due eaſt, whereas in theſe parts the wind is weſt or weſterly almoſt all the ſummer: and beſides, as it is at Peterſburgh that the ſhips are built, they muſt be brought down to Cronſlot, which cannot be done without danger, nor without a conſiderable expence. Between Peterſburgh and Peterhoff, a country ſeat of the Czar's, ſituated upon the Neva, is a ſhallow where the water is not above eight feet deep. It would be in vain to expect the tide's coming up thither to float the ſhips, as in rivers whoſe mouths are upon the ocean; it is abſolutely neceſſary to tranſport them in the Dutch way, by dint of hands and machines, which is not leſs troubleſome than expenſive.

Accordingly there are thoughts of obviating a part of theſe inconveniences. It is intended, as ſoon as the preſent war ſhall be ended, to dig a wide and deep canal, from Peterſburgh thro' the middle of Peterhoff, ſo that it ſhall be no longer neceſſary to uſe machines to bring the ſhips down to Cronſlot. This too was one of the Czar's plans; he had ſettled the place of building them to be in his capital, near his palace; and after they were launched into the water, he would have wiſhed to ſee them paſs amidſt the terraſſes and groves of his country ſeat.

Every morning he went out early to viſit the dock-yards, and ſtaid there an hour or two; not only to give orders and examine the works, but to ſaw and caulk with his own hand. This was undoubtedly to ſet an example to his ſubjects, whom he wanted to make ſeamen of at any rate.

In the ſame ſpirit, he ordered that no Boyard ſhould come to court, either on horſe-back, or in a coach, but only in a barge; he likewiſe enjoined them to go no longer over bridges, and not to croſs rivers but in a boat, and what is more, with a ſail, without uſing oars: like Cyrus, who, to accuſtom the Perſians to horſes, forbade them almoſt the uſe of their legs. But whatever may have been his policy, it ſeems inconteſtible, that in neglecting the eaſy means of fitting out his fleets at Revel, and pitching upon Peterſburgh and Cronſlot for the places of building and equipping his ſhips; he fell in to the ſame error, tho' of far different importance, as Lewis XIV, who preferred for his reſidence, the arid ſoil of Verſailles to the delightful ſituation of St. Germain; and that one might likewiſe have ſaid to Peter the great, alluding to his arſenal, *it will be but a favourite without merit.*

It is ſtill more evident, that theſe ſeas are as little made for large ſhip, as a lee-ſhore is for a

whale. Galleys are here the proper things. Be there never ſo little water, there is always e-enough for them; they glide between the little iſlands and the rocks; they can land any where. The Czar was ſenſible of it at laſt, and ſent for galley-builders from Venice. I met with one of them, greatly advanced in years, and was not a little ſurprized to hear terminations in *ao* in ſixty degrees of latitude.

The galleys that one ſees here are of different ſizes; there are ſmall ones which carry about an hundred and thirty men, and others much larger. They are all armed with two pieces of cannon on the prow, and furniſhed with chace-guns, and ſwivels on the ſides. The Czar gave to each of them the name of a Ruſſian fiſh; now they are numbered as the legions were: there are upwards of an hundred and thirty of them, and they are to be much more numerous: by this means, an army of thirty thouſand men is tranſported with great eaſe.

Rowing is to the Ruſſian ſoldiers, what the exerciſe of ſwimming was to the Romans. Every foot ſoldier learns to handle the oar at the ſame time as the muſket, by which means, without maritime commerce, without embargo, the Ruſſians have always crews ready for their galleys. They caſt anchor every night, and

land where it is leaſt expected: when diſembarked, they draw them up upon the land, range them in a circle, with their ſpurs and artillery pointed outward, and thus they have in a trice a fortified camp. They leave five or ſix battalions to guard it, and with the reſt of their troops over-run the country, and lay it under contribution. The expedition ended, they reembark, and begin again in another quarter. Sometimes they tranſport their veſſels, from one water to another, over a ſlip of land; as was practiſed by the antients on ſeveral occaſions, and particularly after the example of Mahomet II, at the ſiege of Conſtantinople.

The Swedes can certify whether theſe Ruſſian gallies are formidable: they have ſeen them ravage their rich mines of Norkoping, the whole coaſt of Gothland and Sudermania, and ſhew themſelves even before Stockholm. They relate on this occaſion a pretty extraordinary adventure, which, in a Greek or Roman hiſtory, would not figure badly among the miracles and prodigies with which they are filled.

It happened, I know not in what year, that the waters of the Neva, uncommonly ſwelled, overflowed their banks, and reached a neighbouring pond of ſterlets. The ſterlet is a remarkably firm and finely flavoured fiſh, found only

in the Northern rivers of Ruſſia. Eſcaping from their priſon, they wandered at large in the ſea, and ſome of them were catched by the fiſhermen at Walxholm, and between the other iſlands near Stockholm. This was immediately a warning from Heaven, into that the Ruſſians were going to make a deſcent upon thoſe countries; and, in fact, the omen was ſoon after verified.

I will not omit another particular; which, though equally natural, is not for that the leſs extraordinary. Of what wood do you think the ſhips are built at Peterſburgh? It is, my Lord, of a ſpecies of oak which is at leaſt two ſummers upon the road before it arrives. It comes ready cut by the carpenter from the kingdom of Caſan: it goes a little way up the Wolga, then the Tuertza, paſſes through a canal into the ſea, from thence into the Meſta; and, by means of the Volcava, falls into a canal which conveys it into the Lake Ladoga, from whence it deſcends at laſt by the Neva to Peterſburgh. I ſaw in this port a ſloop built at Caſan, from whence it came by the rivers I have juſt mentioned, which join the Caſpian ſea to the Baltic, and are a quite different thing from the famous canal of Languedoc.

Formerly the wood was uſed as ſoon as it arrived. Now it is left for ſeveral years in vaſt

magazines, open on all ſides, like cages, that the air may penetrate into it. During the froſts, they are covered with coarſe ſail-cloaths, to defend the wood from the inclemency of the air, nearly as is practiſed in Italy to preſerve the citron trees.

But we have had enough of ſhips and gallies. Were I now, my Lord, to ſet about telling how much I love and honour you, I ſhould never have done.

LETTER IV.

To the ſame.

Peterſburgh, June 30th, 1739.

I HAVE not a greater pleaſure, my Lord, than that of writing to you; and accordingly I enjoy it as often as poſſible. I am at length going to give you ſome account of this new city, of this great window lately opened up in the North, thro' which Ruſſia looks into Europe. We arrived at Peterſburgh, a few days ago, after having ſpent two at Cronſlot, at admiral Gordon's: We left there our frigate, which, drawing eleven feet of water, could not have ſailed up beyond Peterhoff; and we came here in a bark as handſome as it is well decorated, which the admiral lent us.

Seven months of the year one travels upon the Neva in barks, and the other five months in ſledges. The Czar had one of theſe in the ſhape of a wherry. When the wind was eaſt or weſt, he went and came upon the ice with ſails, carrying in that manner his orders from

Peterſburg to Cronſlot, and from Cronſlot to Peterſburg. He guided his ſledge with a pole pointed with iron, like to thoſe which are uſed upon mount Cenis. By this means he had the pleaſure of ſailing even upon land.

But the greateſt ſatisfaction he ever felt in his life, was when he ſailed up the Neva in triumph, after having beat the Swediſh fleet at Gango, in 1714; leading in his train the admiral priſoner, with a great part of his ſhips. He then really beheld the completion of his works. A nation which, but a few years before, had not ſo much as a ſingle ſloop in the Baltic, was become ſovereign of that ſea; and Peter Michaeloff, formerly a carpenter in one of the docks of Amſterdam, merited by this important victory, to be promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of all the Ruſſias: a farce full of inſtruction, ſaid a thinking man, and which ſhould have been acted in the preſence of all the kings of the earth.

This triumphal way, this ſacred way of the Neva, is not however adorned with either arches or temples: from Cronſlot to Peterſburg, it is flanked with a foreſt on the right hand and on the left. In it are neither majeſtic oaks, tufted elms, nor ever-green laurels; but the moſt wretched generation of trees that ever the ſun

ſhone upon. They are a kind of poplar, quite different from thoſe into which the ſiſters of Phaeton were transformed, and which ſhade the borders of the Po.

We liſtened in vain to hear the melodious ſong of birds, with which the Czar had endeavoured to people theſe wild and gloomy woods. In vain did he cauſe numerous colonies of them to be tranſported thither from the ſouthern provinces of the empire; they all periſhed in a ſhort time, without even trying to leave ſome of their poſterity.

After having ſailed ſome hours in the midſt of this hideous and ſilent wood; behold, the river turns at once, and the ſcene changing in an inſtant, as at an opera, we ſee before us the imperial city. On either ſhore, ſumptuous edifices grouped together; turrets with gilded ſpires riſing every here and there like pyramids; ſhips, which, by their maſts and floating ſtreamers, mark the ſeparation of the ſtreets, and diſtinguiſh the ſeveral quarters; ſuch was the brilliant ſight which ſtruck our eyes: we were told, here is the Admiralty, there is the Arſenal, here the Citadel, yonder is the Academy, on that ſide the Czarina's winter palace. On our landing, Mr. Craamer, an Engliſh merchant, equally polite and well acquainted with the af-

ſairs of Ruſſia, came to receive us, and it is at his houſe that we are lodged. Soon after, we had a viſit from Mr Rondeau, who has been many years reſident of your nation at this Court.

When we were in Peterſburg, we no longer found it ſo ſuperb as it had ſeemed to us from a diſtance; whether it be that the gloomineſs of the foreſt had ceaſed to embelliſh the perſpective, or that travellers reſemble ſportſmen and lovers, I will not pretend to determine. However, the ſituation of a city built upon the borders of a great river, and formed of different iſlands, which give room for a variety of points of view and effects of optic, cannot but be fine. When one recollects the huts of Revel and of the other cities and towns in theſe countries, it is impoſſible not to be content with the houſes and buildings of Peterſburgh: but the ground upon which it is founded is low and marſhy, the immenſe foreſt, in the middle of which it ſtands, is frightful, the materials of which it is built are not worth much, and the plans of the buildings are not thoſe of an Inigo Jones, or a Palladio.

There reigns in this capital a kind of baſtard architecture, which partakes of the Italian, the French, and the Dutch: this laſt is, however, moſt prevalent, and it is no wonder. The Czar's firſt ſtudies were in Holland, and it was

at Saardam that this new Prometheus took the fire with which he animated his nation. It ſeems likewiſe to have been ſolely in rememberance of Holland, that he planted rows of trees along the ſtreets, and interſected them with canals, which certainly are not of the ſame uſe here as at Amſterdam and Utrecht.

The Czar obliged the Boyards and Grandees of the Empire to leave Moſcow, in the neighbourhood of which their eſtates were, and to ſettle where the court removed to. The palaces of moſt of them are upon the banks of the Neva, and it is eaſy to ſee that they are built out of obedience rather than choice. Their walls are all cracked, quite out of perpendicular, and ready to fall. It has been wittily enough ſaid, that ruins make themſelves in other places, but that they were built at Peterſburgh. Accordingly, it is neceſſary every moment in this new capital, to repair the foundations of the buildings, and its inhabitants build inceſſantly; as well for this reaſon, as on account of the inſtability of the ground and of the bad quality of the materials. If therefore we are to call happy thoſe *quorum jam mœnia ſurgunt;* how completely ſo muſt be the Ruſſians, who have the pleaſure to ſee their houſes raiſed anew more than once in their lives. That in which we

lodge is one of the moſt ſolid. Mr. Craamer, if he did not build it, came to live in it of his own accord, and takes care of it. It is ſituated upon the ſide of the river, in a charming poſition, and when one is in it one thinks one's ſelf in England.

We talked of marine at Admiral Gordon's; you may eaſily ſuppoſe, my Lord, that commerce is our topic now with Mr. Craamer. I could make you a volume of all I have learnt about it in the few days that we have lived together.

It may very ſafely be aſſerted, that the trade of the North is as active as that of the South: the one furniſhes the inhabitants of the temperate zones, with the greateſt part of their ſuperfluities, ſuch as tea, porcelain, muſlins, &c. and the other what they ſtand moſt in need of, as corn, hemp, iron, and ſuch like merchandize.

Ruſſia abounds principally in pot-aſhes, leather, flax, hemp, pitch, iron, rhubarb, and timber. About ninety Engliſh ſhips come every year to Peterſburgh; it is they that carry on the greateſt trade. They carry thither tin, lead, hardware, indigo, Campeachy wood, rock alum, and woollen cloth in ſuch quantity, that it is commonly ſaid the Ruſſian army is cloathed with Engliſh cloth. The whole amounts to the va-

lue of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. They take in exchange two hundred pounds worth of goods of the country, ſo that the balance is fifty thouſand pounds in favour of Ruſſia.

Very few Dutch go ſo far as Peterſburg. They do their buſineſs generally at Narva and Riga. Beſides corn, wood, and hemp, they take honey and wax which come from the Ukraine; and, beſides ſalt, they leave in payment woollen ſtuffs and ſpices: This laſt article is of very great importance; eſpecially in the North, and the balance between thoſe two nations, is thought to be equal.

The trade of Ruſſia with Sweden is entirely to the advantage of the former. The Ruſſians furniſh Sweden with very many furs, and quantities of corn of the produce of Eſthonia; whilſt they take hardly any thing from the Swedes, contenting themſelves with their own iron, tho' of an inferior quality.

Ruſſia ſells alſo furs to Poland, to a conſiable amount, and makes, in every reſpect, the moſt of its neighbourhood.

As to France, there is very little direct trade between theſe two nations, and nothing is more uncommon than to ſee a French ſhip in theſe ſeas, which however does not prevent there being an

incredible quantity of French commodities in Ruſſia. France draws from hence, by means of her wines, her rich ſtuffs, her laces, her ſnuff-boxes, her millenary wares, and other glittering gew-gaws, which ſerve to feed the luxury of the Czarian Court, all the gold that the Engliſh leave at Peterſburg.

Nothing more ſumptuous than the high days at this court: eſpecial care is taken at Lyons to put gold and ſilver by whole ounces into the tiſſues intended for Ruſſia. It would be difficult to determine whether this oſtentation is the effect of the government of women, who are naturally fond of ſhew and dreſs, rather than the conſequence of the adminiſtration of foreigners; who, by this means, impoveriſh the natives of the country. The fact is, that it began in the time of Catharine; that it increaſed under Peter II, who was but a child; and that it is now carried to the higheſt pitch. Things were far otherwiſe during the life of the Czar, who, with the arts and manufactures, had imbibed in Holland the love of frugality. The Boyards who are obliged now to ſpend, every year, a great part of their income in laces and cloaths, uſed formerly, by the Sovereign's command, to build a ſhip.

In nations whoſe own products ſuffice for

their luxury, that luxury excites induſtry, makes money circulate, attracts it from other people, and thus is of manifeſt utility: but among thoſe where it is only tranſplanted, where it cannot be kept up but by the induſtry of foreigners, ſumptuary laws become indiſpenſable, if one would not ſee all the money go ſpeedily out of the country. Accordingly Sweden and Denmark have recourſe to them, as to the only remedy; and it ſeems as if Ruſſia could not do better than imitate their example.

There is, however, a ſpecies of luxury little in vogue in our climates, to which it is leſs ſuitable than to thoſe of the North, which might be advantageous to Ruſſia. It is that of furs, which may be worn there three-fourths of the year. You know, my Lord, that Siberia, reputed in all reſpects ſo bad a country, furniſhes however Europe with ermines, ſables, white wolves, and black foxes. There are furs which, for the fineneſs, length, colour, and luſtre of the hair, are rated at an incredible price; and a Ruſſian furrier is as dexterous at diſtinguiſhing all theſe qualities, as an Engliſh jeweller is at knowing the water of a diamond.

Furs are much in faſhion in Turkey; they form the principal part of the trade which the Ruſſians carry on thither. They likewiſe ſend

ſome into Perſia: but their traffic there is trifling, though they might eaſily reap very conſiderable advantages from its neighbourhood. The vaſt empire of Perſia has no other communication with the Indian ſea, but the port of Gombroon, otherwiſe called Bender-Abaſſi; and the Ruſſians might eaſily, by means of the Caſpian ſea, buy up the fine ſilks of Ghilan, and diſtribute them afterwards to the European manufacturers.

This, my Lord, has not eſcaped the notice of your countrymen. An Engliſh company has juſt obtained from the government the privilege of trading to Perſia, by the Caſpian ſea. It is not to be wondered at, that Ruſſia ſhould favour a nation, which, by the diſcovery of the port of Archangel, was the firſt in Europe that trafficked directly with her; and which, not to ſpeak of the other ſervices ſhe has done her, has taught her the uſe of the Arabic cyphers, and even firſt made them known to her.

Of all the nations of Europe, the Ruſſian is the only one that trades by land with the Chineſe; and alſo the only one from which theſe laſt take goods in exchange for theirs: they do not deliver them to any other but for real bullion. However, what they do take conſiſts only in peltries, which are neceſſary in the Northern parts of that empire, which extends from the

ſummer tropic to the fiftieth degree of latitude. This branch of trade amounts to ſeventy thouſand rubels a-year, and the profit of it is, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, for the Empreſs's pin-money.

To go from Peterſburgh to Pekin, to make purchaſes there, and to return back, the caravan employs three years. It paſſes through Tobolſki, the capital of Siberia, where it ſtops. It afterwards turns off through the country of the Tonguſki, of Irtuſki, and croſſes the Lake Baikal, and the deſart which leads to the great wall. It is received in the deſart by a Chineſe mandarin, at the head of ſome hundreds of ſoldiers, who eſcort it to Pekin.

I owe all theſe particulars to one Baron Lang, who was ſeven or eight times the conductor of the caravan; and who, for his reward, has juſt been appoined vice-governor of Irtuſki; that is to ſay, of a province much larger than France, and which contains fewer inhabitants than the ſmalleſt pariſh in Paris. Do not imagine, my Lord, that the Ruſſian traders, when arrived at Pekin, have liberty to go and come, and follow their buſineſs: they are ſhut up in Caravanſerais, where they are kept guarded within ſight, nearly as the Dutch are in Japan. When the Chineſe think it is time, they carry them tea, a little gold,

raw ſilks, old ſtuffs, pagodas, and porcelaine of the worſt ſort; the whole conſiſting chiefly of refuſe goods, and the rubbiſh of their warehouſes, and then they wiſh them a good journey. Now I leave you to judge, my Lord, whether the Chineſe, the greateſt trickſters in the world, avail themſelves of the diſtreſs and neceſſity of theſe poor Ruſſians.

In the ſale that was made the other day of the goods brought by the laſt cavaran, I ſaw an old clock of Tompion's, quite ſhattered, and in a condition never more to mark the time of the day. It was literally a dead body, as the Chineſe term it. You know, my Lord, that, with all their dexterity, they have not yet learnt to make thoſe ingenious machines in which we impriſon time. They buy them of your nation, and it is the only European production that is admitted at Canton. When a clock is out of order, they ſay it is dead, and lay it aſide till the arrival of an Engliſh ſhip. They immediately carry it thither, and exchange it for a live one, giving or receiving ſomewhat to boot according to circumſtances. The Engliſh, who have always ſome journeyman watch-maker on board, eaſily revive the dead, and then ſell them as freſh arrived from their country. This is, I

believe, the only kind of induſtry in which we have the advantage over the Chineſe.

Tompion's dead body was purchaſed very dear by a Germain Baron, who is in the Ruſſian ſervice, and who intended thereby to pay his court to the Empreſs. She is always preſent at the auctions of Chineſe goods, which are held in a great hall of the palace, called the *Italian*. When a piece of ſilk, a piece of porcelaine, or any other thing is put up to ſale, the Empreſs herſelf often bids for it; every one of her ſubjects is there allowed to contradict her, each wiſhes to hear his name proclaimed for ſome lot or other, and he who pays deareſt for it, thinks he has well employed the day. We ourſelves were permitted to be of the number of purchaſers.

This is not the only, nor the moſt conſiderable branch of trade that redounds to the profit of the Empreſs. Rhubarb, ſalt, pot-aſhes, a great part of the hemp, half the iron, beer, brandy, and ſpices, are ſold and bought for her account; or, which is the ſame, for that of the Empire. The drinking houſes and public baths depend alſo on the government. The credulity of the people occaſions a great concourſe at thoſe drinking houſes; and if they are

not ſo much frequented as in England, the baths are almoſt as much ſo as in Turkey.

The profits which ariſe from theſe different objects, form a part of the revenues of the ſtate. The reſt of it conſiſts in cuſtoms, tolls, and a capitation of ſeventy copeiks, or three ſhillings and two pence ſterling a-head. The Boyards or proprietors of lands pay it for each of their male vaſſals, and it amounts to ſomewhat more than half of what they produce them. This Turkiſh impoſt is a very eaſy way to know exactly the number of people in the Empire. They are reckoned to be ſeventeen millions of ſouls, excluſive of the conquered provinces, which perhaps do not contain one million. You ſee, my Lord, that this is but a handful of men for an empire much larger than that of the Romans. They have likewiſe here another means of numbering the people: it conſiſts in the method which is practiſed to recruit the army, each province being obliged to furniſh one man out of every hundred and thirty-five.

The revenues of the empire are farther conſiderably increaſed by a very great quantity of land which belong to the crown, and which continual forfeitures do not let diminiſh. So that, upon the whole, including what the provinces are obliged to furniſh in labourers, cattle, corn, wheat,

barley, and other commodities, according to the exigency of the ſtate; the revenues may be eſtimated at from fourteen to fifteen millions of rubels; the rubel is taken here as a nominal money, and equivalent to two rixdollars; or about three millions of pounds ſterling; an immenſe ſum in the North, and particularly when compared to the revenues of Sweden, which do not amount to two millions ſterling, and to thoſe of Denmark, which are ſcarcely one; eſpecially too if one conſiders the country, where every thing is amazingly cheap. In the heart of the empire, bread, beef, and all other neceſſaries of life, do not coſt the ſixth part of what they ſell for in England. A galley without guns ſtands the government in no more than a thouſand rubels *, and the ſoldier does not receive in money a third of the pay that is given in France and Germany.

Such are the revenues of Ruſſia, and the ſinews of the war ſhe is now engaged in with the Turks: to carry it on, hitherto, the miniſtry have not been obliged to have recourſe to any new taxes. However ſhe cannot, without ſubſidies, keep armies in Germany, where the thermometer is much higher in every reſpect; be-

* 100 copeiks make a rubel, and a rubel is equal to 4s. 6d. ſterling.

cauſe ſhe is there obliged to pay, in ready money, the ſubſiſtences which her own provinces furniſh gratis, and to increaſe conſiderably the pay of the ſoldier. So that, notwithſtanding the diſproportion there is between Ruſſia and Denmark, or Sweden; in the treaties of alliance contracted with her, the ſame articles of expence muſt be allowed as with thoſe two powers.

But to whom am I ſaying all this? To you, my Lord, who, without going out of your cloſet, know it better than we who traverſe ſea; as your Newton knew the ſhape of the earth, before the French went to meaſure it in Lapland. It therefore is only the pleaſure of converſing with you, that has induced me to dwell upon all theſe details; and I have confided in the reciprocal indulgence with which friends pardon each other the mere nothings they ſay. I hope to hear from you by the next mail: never was courier more impatiently expected. Adieu, my Lord, continue to love me, and ſometimes think of me,

Seu civica jura
Reſpondere paras, ſeu condis amabile carmen.

LETTER V.

To the ſame.

Peterſburg, July 13th, 1739.

IN this Northern and arid clime, a Naples lemon, a Florence citron, or any yet more valuable production of the South, would have given me leſs pleaſure than your letter. I am glad, my Lord, that my laſt epiſtles, which you will ſoon receive, contain an anticipated anſwer to a part of what you deſire to be informed of: it ſhall not be my fault if you are not equally ſatisfied in regard to the reſt.

I think I have given you a ſufficiently long account of the marine, the trade, and the revenues of this empire: I queſtion whether I can do the ſame of its military ſtate. All that I can ſay in this reſpect is, that when I ſtopped at Revel, to look at the ſoldiers who compoſed the garriſon at that place, Mr. Cleiſs was right in telling me to go on, and that I ſhould ſee quite another thing at Peterſburg. In effect, nothing is finer than the three regiments of guards, *Pre-*

baranoſki, *Imailoſki*, and *Simoneſki*. They are the flower of the whole army, like the grenadiers in France: they compoſe a body of about ten thouſand men, ſtout, tall, and, at the ſame time, very active; in ſhort, they are the moſt brilliant troops one can ſet eyes on.

Their uniform is green, and the grenadiers wear helmets of boiled leather, ſurmounted with creſts of feathers after the Roman faſhion. All this war they have remained quiet, except only one detachment which has joined the army. They compoſe the garriſon of this capital with the regiment of *Ingermanlaſki*, which is not inferior to them in any reſpect. The guard of the ſacred perſon of the Empreſs is intruſted to them; and like the Praetorian bands of old, and the Janiſſaries now, they give and take away the empire at pleaſure.

They ſucceeded, as you know, my Lord, the famous *Strelitzes* extirpated by Peter I. Thoſe *Strelitzes*, who were forty thouſand in number, and the only ſtanding army that there was formerly in Ruſſia, were alſo the pillar of deſpotiſm. Michael Federowitz inſtituted them, in the beginning of the laſt century, to controul the *Sobor* or Senate, which had limited the power of the Czar, to juſt what that of the King of Sweden now is. They enjoy the ſame privileges,

and fought in the ſame manner as the Janiſſaries. When Ruſſia was at war, the new-raiſed levies from each province were joined to this ſinew of the infantry, as is done in Turkey; and beſides the Calmucks and Coſſacks, the inferior nobility poſſeſſing fiefs called *Dieti Boyarſkie*, (ſons of Boyards) mounted their horſes, as is now practiſed by the Timariots among the Turks.

The different orders, as well military as eccleſiaſtical, were formerly regulated in Ruſſia upon the model of Conſtantinople, and are now upon that of Germany. The Czar had already learnt there to make himſelf the head of the religion of his country, and to keep conſtantly on foot a numerous and well diſciplined army. At his death he left the rich inheritance of two regiments of guards, fifty of field infantry, thirty of dragoons, and ſixty-ſeven others called garriſon regiments; in all an hundred and ninety thouſand men.

The Empreſs, who now reigns, has not let her patrimony diminiſh. She has augmented the body of guards, to whom ſhe owes her ſovereignty, (for after the death of Peter II, in the midſt of ſo many troops, the Ruſſians were ſeized with a fit of liberty) with a new regiment of three battalions and five ſquadrons, who, created by her, are wholly devoted to her.

Ruſſia had not any Cuiraſſiers: this Princeſs has raiſed three regiments of them; as alſo twenty of militia, to guard the lines of the Ukraine, and defend that country againſt the incurſions of the Tartars; ſo that the whole of the army now amounts to two hundred and forty thouſand men.

Marſhal Ogilby was the firſt inſtitutor of military diſcipline in Ruſſia; and it has been carried to a very great perfection by Marſhal Count Munich, *extremis Europæ jam nunc victor in oris*. Though Europe ſeems now to decree the military palm to Pruſſia, I doubt whether more exactneſs in the evolutions and other different exerciſes would be found at Berlin.

Certain it is, that there does not ſeem to be any nation fitter for war than the Ruſſians. Deſertion is abſolutely unknown among them; a circumſtance owing to their attachment to their religion, of which they know they would not find even a veſtige in other countries. Their patience under adverſity, and untoward events, will bear any trial, as will alſo their docility. Accuſtomed, in their excurſions at home, to change inceſſantly their climate; they are ſtrangers to the ſeveral diſtempers which new countries and long marches occaſion elſewhere; and they can moreover ſay with the antient Latins,

Durum a ſtirpe genus, gnatos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, ſævoque gelu duramus et undis.

For comment on theſe lines, you muſt know, my Lord, that it is the cuſtom of this country to throw their children, from an oven in which they are kept a certain time, into cold water or among ice. By this means they become inured to heat and cold, and are rendered more invulnerable to the effects of the weather, than Achilles was to thoſe of ſpears and arrows. Yet every fit ſoldier, beſides his arms, carries always a cloak, a veſtment almoſt continually neceſſary in theſe frozen regions. They twiſt it up, and paſs it from the ſhoulder to the oppoſite hip, in the manner that the ſword-belt was formerly worn. In caſe of need they unfurl it, and wrapping themſelves up in it, they ſleep upon the ſnow as comfortably as in the beſt bed.

Neither is there need of much cookery here to feed the ſoldiers. A certain quantity of meal is diſtributed among them, and as ſoon as they are encamped, they dig ovens in the ground, where they bake their bread, which they make themſelves. When it is intended to treat them, they have a ſort of very hard biſcuit, which they break into little bits, and boil with ſalt and a few herbs which they find every-where. The

greateſt part of the time they are ſtrictly abſtemious, becauſe, though diſpenſed from the lents and faſts, which engroſs more than half of the year with the Greeks, they nevertheleſs chuſe to faſt. Such ſoldiers would have been fit for Cromwell; who, it is ſaid, ordered a faſt to be proclaimed throughout his army when he was in want of proviſions. Allow too, my Lord, that Machiavel, who obſerved in Switzerland many remains of the manners of the ancients, would have found at leaſt as many among the Ruſſians, who beſides remind one, in ſome manner, of the grandeur of the Roman empire.

As a farther confirmation of this thought, I might likewiſe inſtance here their firm belief, that they fly to eternal glory in dying for the Empreſs; which anſwers to the Roman citizen's love for his country: and their dexterity at uſing the hatchet, with which alone they perform things which our workmen would not be able to execute without a great number of tools. In the laſt war againſt Sweden, the Ruſſian ſoldiers built gallies, as Labienus's legionaries did ſhips, for Caeſar's expedition to England. Very lately, peaſants, to whom it was only ſaid, "Go "to the foreſt, cut down trees, and make a "thing like this," built a ſcore of them. The carvers whom we ſaw at Cronſtadt, cutting out

all ſorts of Arabic figures, in the Anne Iwanowna, were likewiſe only peaſants, provided with no other tools than a hatchet.

In a word, every Ruſſian ſoldier is a carpenter in caſe of need. You ſee, my Lord, what great utility reſults from thence, from mending of waggons, repairing the carriages of the artillery, making of bridges and ſuch like works, which are wanted every moment in military expeditions. It is the whole of this taken together that conſtitutes the baſis of a good infantry; and that of the Ruſſians, diſciplined and commanded as it now is, deſerves to be looked upon as the beſt in the known world. Not ſo their cavalry. This vaſt empire does not produce horſes fit to mount the Cuiraſſiers; they muſt be fetched from Holſtein; thoſe of the country are not ſtrong enough even for dragoons. In all this part of the North, to which may be added Sweden and Poland, the horſes are ſmall, and proper only for huſſars.

With regard to light horſe, the Calmucks and Coſſacks fill them as abundantly. The government can raiſe ſixty thouſand of them; and, though it gives them no other pay than leave to plunder the enemy's country, one may be perfectly eaſy about their ſubſiſtence. They are of great uſe to go upon a diſcovery, to ſteal a march upon

the enemy, or a change of poſition, and to moleſt and harraſs them inceſſantly. With all this, however, they often do almoſt as much hurt to the army on which they depend, by the ravages they commit. Like locuſts, they ſpread deſtruction around them where-ever they go, and even their chiefs cannot reſtrain them; it being impoſſible to ſubject them to that exact diſcipline, the firſt foundation of which is the regular pay of the ſoldier. The Ruſſians think, and with reaſon, that the infantry is the ſinew of an army: accordingly, in the day of battle, their cuſtom is to make the greateſt part of their cavalry diſmount and fight on foot.

As to the artillery, upon which the event of war now principally depends, they have brought both the making and the managing of it to great perfection. The Ruſſian cannon were formerly of ſuch enormous magnitude, that they were quite unfit for ſervice: like, in ſome meaſure, to the empire itſelf, which made a great figure in a chart of the world, and in which there was not a perſon able to draw a map of it. It is not now very long ſince they had no other fire-arms than what they got from foreigners. It is leſs than a century ſince Alexis Michaelowitz procured from Breſcia eight thouſand carabines, which are ſtill preſerved in the arſenal of Moſ-

cow. They are ſo many monuments which certify the late great ignorance of theſe people, who now yield in no reſpect to any other.

At Syſterbeck, not far from Peterſburg, there is a very fine manufactory of arms, eſtabliſhed by Peter the Great; and towards Moſcow there is another. An officer, who ſuperintended the making of thirty-three thouſand muſkets laſt year, has aſſured me, that, on their being put to the proof, not above eighty in a thouſand burſt, whilſt, added he, half of thoſe that are made in Saxony fly in pieces. Now a muſket mounted, and ready to be put into the hands of a foot ſoldier, coſts no more than two roubles, or about nine ſhillings, which is but the price of a knife in England. They have likewiſe gunpowder almoſt for nothing.

There are alſo in Ruſſia two very conſiderable trains of artillery. One of them is placed in the Ukraine, frontier to the Tartars and Turks; the other on this ſide of the empire, within reach of the new conqueſts. The fortified places are beſides abundantly provided with cannon; and each battalion has two field pieces and a mortar. In 1714, there were reckoned in Ruſſia thirteen thouſand pieces of cannon, and that number has been greatly increaſed. The Matroſſes are as brave a body of men as they are

fine to look at: their uniform is red and black, with gold-button holes. It is to a Scotchman, named Bruce, that the empire is indebted for the good order which now reigns in the artillery, and the ſchools of fortification.

Thus, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, there is nothing farther wanting in Ruſſia, to complete the temple of Mars, but an eſtabliſhment in favour of invalid ſoldiers. The ſeamen have indeed an hoſpital facing Crōnſtadt; but the humanity of the Ruſſian Princes has not yet been ſignalized by any foundation for the aged or infirm land forces. As to their policy, they have managed ſo, that the ſons of the greateſt Lords begin with bearing arms, like common ſoldiers; and ſerve, as ſuch, an apprenticeſhip to the military. One day Mr. Rondeau ſhewed me the ſon of a *Knees*, that is to ſay, of a Lord, ſtanding centinel at the door of his houſe; for the foreign Miniſters have here a guard. Theſe young gentlemen are ſubject to the ſame puniſhments as the other ſoldiers, to irons and to the knout, in caſe of need. The officers themſelves are not exempt from the cudgel; in which they may comfort themſelves by the example of the Romans, among whom, as you know, my Lord, the rods were a puniſhment common to the ſoldier and the officer.

At every review, the inſpectors examine moſt ſtrictly into the conduct of each officer, and write down every particular that they learn about it, in voluminous regiſters, which are depoſited in the Chancery and College of War, where they are conſulted upon occaſion. The waggon-loads of writings, which follow the army, ought not to be ranked in the number of its leaſt embarraſſments; as likewiſe among the officers of the Grand Marſhal, the Grand Equerry, and other principal officers of the Crown, the writers are by no means the leaſt numerous part. In ſhort, in this deſpotic government, a regiſter is kept of every thing that paſſes, be it never ſo trifling. One would almoſt be tempted to ſay, that the Ruſſians, who did not begin to write till long after the reſt of Europe, ſtrive to fetch up the loſt time.

Foreigners, and chiefly the military, whom the ſword ſuits better than the pen, find it difficult to reconcile themſelves to theſe continual writings. But patience is requiſite, and the number of thoſe who get their living by them, is very conſiderable. The foreign officers in the Ruſſian ſervice, and eſpecially Germans, are counted by thouſands. Four diſtinguiſhed themſelves particularly in this great number; theſe are Loewendahl, Keith, Laſcy, and Munich;

the two laſt of whom now command the victorious armies of the empire.

Loewendahl is very witty, underſtands every language, knows all the courts, and all the armies of Europe, is a florid ſpeaker, intrepidly bold; and, it is ſaid, ſingularly intent upon making his fortune. *

Keith, a man of ſound judgment, has obtained more ſubmiſſion from the Ruſſian officers by mildneſs, than others by ſeverity: in the midſt of arms, he has always found means to cultivate letters, and to the practice of war he joins the deepeſt and moſt reflected theory. †

Laſcy, grown hoary beneath the helmet, ſaw the dawn of the glory of Ruſſia under Peter the Great: he never meddled with any affair of ſtate, and has always known how to obey whoever had the chief command. It is related of him, that, at Pultava, he aſked the Czar whether his men ſhould reſerve their fire till they were within a few paces of the Swedes, or whether they ſhould fire at the uſual diſtance? The Czar was at firſt ſurprized at this queſtion; but perceiving his

* After the revolution of Ruſſia, he went into the French ſervice, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſeveral ſieges, and particularly at the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom.

† This was the celebrated Marſhal Keith, killed at the battle of Hochkirchen in 1758, in the ſervice of the King of Pruſſia.

driſt, bid him defer firing, and that was one of the principal cauſes of the victory. It was he who led the Ruſſians along the Rhine, till they had joined Prince Eugene's army. The cloſeſt intimacy ſoon took place between theſe two generals; and the Ruſſians and the Germans ſeeing their chiefs, naturally men of few words, converſe together for whole hours, ſaid they had rendered each other praters. He has the character of being ſparing of blood, and of waiting patiently till opportunity offers. His ſoldiers ſalute him by the name of father *Baſka*.

It is not ſo of Munich, who paſſes for being laviſh of blood, more feared than loved by the troops, and enterprizing beyond what the bounds of duty preſcribe. "Thank God!" cried he, on ſeeing the French land at Dantzick, "Ruſſia is in want of hands for her mines." A bravado, however, well enough ſuited to a General, and fit to ſpread confidence in an army. Through an exceſs of ambition, he would wiſh to have univerſal command; and it muſt be owned that his great qualities would render him worthy of it. The empire is much indebted to him, and particularly among other eſtabliſhments, for that of the college of Cadets, which is compoſed of three hundred gentlemen, diſtributed in different claſſes, or rather divided into different

companies. They are taught the languages, dancing, fortification, riding, fencing, in ſhort, all the arts ſuitable to the military profeſſion. Their academical exerciſes are to form, upon the Neva, forts and polygons with ice, to attack and defend them, and to give ſpecimens of the utility they will one day be of to the ſtate which maintains and educates them: in ſhort, this college is a true military ſeminary. It occupies the palace of Menzikoff, thus employed to a better purpoſe, than in diſplaying to the eyes of the nation the luxury of a favourite.

Peterſburg owes likewiſe to Count Munich, the eaſe with which it is ſupplied with proviſions, and, in a manner, its daily bread. This great city, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants, is ſituated at the extremity of vaſt moraſſes, and an immenſe wood, which, covering above an hundred leagues of ground, reaches to Moſcow. It draws the greateſt part of the proviſions neceſſary to life, from the country which lies along the banks of the Volcova, and in the neighbourhood of Novogorod, where the ſoil is leſs barren. In the winter, when all is frozen, ſledges come regularly, and without difficulty, to Peterſburg, by the Lake and the Neva, and bring to it plenty of every thing that is wanted. The caſe is different in

ſummer: barks cannot fall down ſo eaſy, on account of the Weſt winds, which reign almoſt conſtantly here, and of the terrible ſqualls to which the Lake is ſubject; impediments which have more than once occaſioned even a famine in Peterſburg, and were the cauſe that, when the Czar founded this city, upwards of an hundred thouſand men periſhed for want of food. Munich has remedied this inconvenience, by completing along the borders of the Lake the inner canal, begun by the Czar, to join the Volcova to the Neva; by means of which the barks now arrive in ſummer, as regularly at Peterſburg, as the ſledges in winter. This General would therefore well deſerve to have a ſtatue erected to him, with an inſcription like that we read over one of the gates of Paris, *Abundantia parta.*

But this letter is long enough. I embrace you, my Lord. May the excellent milk which your fine part of St. James's furniſhes you with in plenty, and the puddings which are are your food, long preſerve you in perfect health!

LETTER VI.

To the ſame.

Peterſburg, July 19, 1739.

THE other day, my Lord, I heard a perſon compare Ruſſia to a great white bear, whoſe hind claws reſt upon the borders of the frozen ſea, in which it floats; whoſe open mouth is turned to the South, facing Perſia and Turkey; and whoſe feet are wide extended towards the Eaſt and the Weſt. Thoſe great Stateſmen of the North, Oxenſtiern and Frederic William, Elector of Brandebourg, ſaid it ſhould neither be untied, nor provoked, nor made to ſtand up upon its feet. Charles XII committed this imprudence; by repeatedly beating it, he taught it to devour a part of his dominions, and thereby made it known to Europe, to which he firſt rendered it formidable.

The truth is, that Ruſſia has nothing to fear from the North, being herſelf the extremity of the world on that ſide. The North winds ſo fatal in other countries, where they blow colds,

coughs, and diſorders of the ſtomach, are here ſalutary. It is they, which, freezing over the marſhes and rivers, make convenient ways, in the midſt of depths and of the worſt of roads; and open in winter the interior commerce of this vaſt empire. The Ruſſians then ſet out in a ſledge, with their merchandize, and proviſions for ſeveral days, and talk of going ſeven or eight thouſand werſts*, with as much eaſe as we ſhould ſpeak of going from Rome to Naples, or from London to York.

To the Eaſt, Ruſſia borders upon China; and if ſhe ſhould ever chance to have war with this empire, one might well ſay of her,

Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.

The Tartars and the Calmucks, whom ſhe incloſes as it were in her boſom, are no longer in the leaſt to be feared by her. If they formerly rendered her tributary by means of their incurſions, a ſingle battalion of Ruſſians, with only two field pieces, would defeat many hordes of them; not to obſerve that ſeveral of the Calmuck nations acknowlege the ſovereignty of Ruſſia, and ſerve her as a buckler and advanced guard.

* 104½, or, according to ſome, 105 werſts are equal to a degree of the equator.

The Caſpian ſea, which it is almoſt impoſſible to navigate, for want of ports and places to anchor at, ſeparates, together with ſome deſarts, Ruſſia from Perſia. Georgia, a country which profeſſes the Greek religion, likewiſe ſerves the Ruſſians for a boundary on that ſide; and, in caſe of a rupture, would not fail to ſide with them. At all events, however, the ſterility and the bad air of the Perſian provinces ſituated along the Caſpian ſea, which would neceſſarily be the theatre of the war, ſeem to inſure a long peace between thoſe two empires. Ruſſia has reſtored them with a good grace to Kouli Kan, though ſhe had ſacrificed ſo many men to conquer them. She feels that ſhe is in the caſe of the famous law *de Coercendo Imperio*: the Czar himſelf uſed frequently to ſay, that he was not ambitious of new conqueſts, that he perhaps already poſſeſſed but too much; and that all he wanted was water.

Ruſſia is equally ſecure on the part of the Turks. They cannot attack her on the ſide of the Ukraine, which is the moſt Southern, the fineſt, and the moſt fertile province in Europe; they are ſeparated from it by an immenſe deſart, where one often goes ſeveral days journey without being able to find any water. It is true,

indeed, that the Boryſthenes deſcends from Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine, to Oczakow, which is a Turkiſh frontier; but the cataracts of that river render it next to impoſſible for even a boat to go up it.

However, both the Kuban and the Crim Tartars are ſo ſituated as to be able to make incurſions into Ruſſia, and they often give proofs of it. They penetrate into the Ukraine, ſet fire to ſome villages, carry off the families, and retire immediately, having no means to ſupport themſelves in it. Twenty regiments of militia which have been raiſed, by the advice of Count Munich, now guard the lines that have been drawn all along that province, from the Boryſthenes: they are defended with forts, placed at proper diſtances, which give warning, by ſignals, on what ſide the enemy is advancing.

To be abſolutely rid of them, it is important to the Ruſſians to keep Azoph; this place is a check upon all the hordes of Kuban. To reſtrain likewiſe thoſe of the Crim, they ſhould be maſters of Kerci, an excellent port which commands the Streight or Cimmerian Boſphorus. A ſmall fleet kept there, would make them be reſpected on the Palus-Maeotis and on the Black ſea. It would be ſufficient to hinder the Tartars from ſtirring beyond their peninſula,

and would put even Conſtantinople, which ſubſiſts in a great meaſure by the product of the Crim, in a ſort of dependance: it was the Czar Peter's deſign; and, if the preſent war ends happily, it may perhaps be carried into execution.

By entering through Moldavia into Poland, the Turks would be the better able to break in upon Ruſſia, becauſe it would be much eaſier for them to find ſubſiſtence in that part, than on the ſide of Oczakow. But then they muſt likewiſe fight the Poles, who would not ſee quietly the infidels advance upon their lands; and they certainly could not rely much upon the Moldavians, who, being of the Greek religion, would not willingly bear arms againſt the Ruſſians, who are of their communion. Beſides, Kiovia, an important place, conſidering the manner in which towns are fortified in that part of Europe, commands on that ſide, and defends the paſs of the Boriſthenes, which muſt abſolutely be croſſed before they can penetrate into the Ukraine; and this province will always furniſh the Ruſſians with ſo many reſources to carry on the war, that, in every reſpect, they muſt have the advantage over the Turks.

I do not ſpeak, my Lord, of Poland which lies Weſt of Ruſſia. A country that has neither

troops nor ſtrong places, and where there muſt be the unanimity of a whole diet to paſs a law, whilſt a ſingle negative is ſufficient to ſet aſide its authority, and diſſolve it; ſuch a country, I ſay, like America formerly, is the conqueſt and prey of whoever attacks it. That kingdom, which made a brilliant figure during ſome late ages in the then barbarous North, and whoſe victorious arms ſometimes preſcribed laws even in Moſcow, muſt now receive them tamely from all who think proper to dictate to it. Through the anarchy which reigns in it, Poland is a field open to Ruſſia, which will always proclaim its feeble Kings with the ſame eaſe as it does the Dukes of Courland.

The Swedes then are the moſt formidable neighbours Ruſſia has; and now that the greateſt part of her forces are employed againſt the Tartars, and that her marine is inconſiderable, ſhe is not without ſome apprehenſions from them. At the time when d'Oſterman was negotiating, with all the fineſſes of the cabinet, that peace of Aland by which Peter the Great terminated his long wars with Sweden; a Coſſack Chief, named *Scranacroſka*, which ſignifies red cheek, went to the Czar, and addreſſed him thus: "Father, "if thou really deſireſt to remove out of thy "way thoſe thorns, the Swedes; let me act,

" I beſeech thee. I will go with my Coſſacks, " and exterminate every man, woman, and " child, in Finland; ſo that, I ſwear to thee, " thou ſhalt not have an enemy left in that " country. We will render it a deſart, which " is better than ten fortreſſes."

Such are the politics of the Eaſt; as you know, my Lord: but you muſt likewiſe know, that, independent of all conſideration of power and forces, Ruſſia has great conveniences to make war againſt Sweden, whereas Sweden cannot attack Ruſſia but with many difficulties. They conſiſt in, that it is impoſſible for the Swedes to form magazines in Finland, an extremely barren country, where the inhabitants live upon the bark of trees, mixed with bread, and, ſome years, upon the bark only.

Neither would they be able to get ſubſiſtence from Livonia and Eſthonia, becauſe, upon the firſt ſuſpicion of war, all exportation of corn from thoſe countries would be prohibited. To victual themſelves in Poland, they would ſtand in need of a great number of ſhips, and conſequently it would be as difficult for them to do it ſecretly, as without obſtacle. They muſt likewiſe neceſſarily croſs the ſea, to carry an army into Finland; and, laſtly, they have not any ſtrong places there.

On the contrary, the Ruſſians poſſeſs there Wiburg, an important and well fortified town, and Carelia, a country interſected here and there with moraſſes, woods, rivers, narrow paſſes, and therefore very fit to ſpin a war out in length, in caſe of need; eſpecially as it is in a manner ſurrounded with very fruitful provinces. If the Swedes, as well as the Danes, by reaſon of their trade, are ſuperior to the Ruſſians in ſea forces and large ſhips; theſe laſt ſurpaſs them greatly in the number and quality of their gallies, which may alſo be ranked as land forces. They can, by their means, moleſt their enemies every where; and, after the example of Scipio, carry the war to their very fire-ſides. We may therefore believe, that Sweden will think of it more than once, before ſhe attacks Ruſſia, and expoſes herſelf to loſe, in a ſhort time, the great advantages ſhe has obtained ſince the peace of Aland.

But if peace is to be wiſhed for by Sweden, it is not leſs to be deſired by Ruſſia, in order that ſhe may reap, fully, the fruits of the Czar's new creation. Howſoever glorious the wars, in which he was engaged ſo many years, may have been to him, they coſt him men; which are every where the principal riches of ſtates, and of which, on account of her vaſt extent, Ruſſia

is in very great want. It is aſſerted that the preſent war, in particular, in five years that it has laſted, has diminiſhed the empire of upwards of two hundred thouſand inhabitants.

Spain and Ruſſia are perhaps the two countries the moſt advantageouſly ſituated, to give laws to the world. The one, placed in the middle of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and naturally miſtreſs of the Streights of Gibraltar, is defended by the Pyrenean mountains, on the only ſide that ſhe touches the continent. The other, ſituated between Aſia and Europe, with frontiers of which nature has rendered the greateſt part inacceſſible, has for rampart of the reſt the weakneſs of her neighbours, and can eaſily extend herſelf on which ever ſide ſhe may think moſt to her advantage. But of what is the one capable with ſix or ſeven millions of inhabitants; and the other with a population leſs than that of France, though her lands are twenty times more extenſive?

One would think, that the principal object of the Ruſſians ſhould now be the peopling of their country, and principally the Ukraine, their beſt province, entirely ravaged by this war. It might, however, be dangerous to tranſport thither colonies of Oſtiacks, of Samoyedes, and of thoſe other Northern nations, almoſt uſeleſs to the

empire; they might, by their diminutive ſize and their deformity, ſpoil the breed of men there. The beſt way therefore would be, to purchaſe Tartar families, and to attract thither the Moldavians and the Wallachians; who, being united to Ruſſia by the ties of the ſame religion, and looking upon her as the ſeat of the Greek empire, would gladly flock to ſettle there.

The population once increaſed; it would be eaſy to improve agriculture, in a country which yields the huſbandman uſurious returns; and it would be equally eaſy to rear there numerous flocks of ſheep; ſo that the government would no longer be obliged to have recourſe to foreigners for wool, and for their manufactures to cloath its troops. It might then apply to working of the mines, which, for want of hands, is now almoſt totally neglected. There are ſome of them in Siberia, very rich in iron; and others alſo have been found in the neighbourhood of Moſcow. Lately too, a copper mine, ſaid to be very rich, was diſcovered near Kola. This vaſt empire certainly contains mines of many other ſorts.

The working of the mines, if properly ſet about, and rightly managed, would be the means of making a ſecret and fatal war againſt Sweden, who converts her copper and her iron into gold. In times of peace, the government, unleſs na-

ture has thrown invincible obſtacles in the way, might ſtill execute the Czar's great deſign, of joining the Caſpian ſea with the Euxine, by cutting a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga. In general, it would be eaſy for the government to render trade much more uſeful to the country than it is. To this end, the crown need only renounce the ſeveral kinds of monopolies it now exerciſes, and allow commerce more liberty. Unfortunately, it happens but too often, that thoſe who govern are actuated by views quite oppoſite to the general good of the nation, and that is particularly the caſe here, where the court ſeems ſolely intent upon preſerving the authority it is in poſſeſſion of, and keeping in an equal dependance the common people and the great. To this end, a military government is neceſſary: *Imperium armis acquiſitum, armis reſtituendum*, ſaid Hirtius to Caeſar.

From all this you will conclude, my Lord, that if the ſucceſſion to the crown of Ruſſia ſhould ever be ſettled on a ſolid foundation, and if, after a long piece, a prudent, ambitious, and active Prince ſhould fill that throne, nothing will be able to ſtop him in his career, nor defeat his enterprizes. It ſeems not improbable to think, that theſe two empires, which by the nature of their frontiers, have nothing, or next to nothing,

to fear from their neighbours; which have numerous and well-diſciplined national troops; which are formed of millions of men ſpeaking all the ſame language, and profeſſing the ſame religion, whoſe government in fine is military; may end with remaining maſters of the field of battle in Europe, and afterwards combating between themſelves for the ſovereignty of this fine part of the world. Our children will perhaps be ſpectators of that great conteſt: we have already ſeen theſe two formidable powers try their arms againſt each other.

I know not, my Lord, whether I ſhall be able to write to you again before my departure from hence; but this I do know, that I ſhall always love and reſpect you, as the honour of an iſland which is that of Europe.

LETTER VII.

To the ſame.

Dantzick, Auguſt 13th, 1739.

ON the 21ſt of laſt month, juſt as we were getting under ſail for Dantzick, I received, my Lord, your letter in anſwer to that I wrote to you from Elſinore, and in which you deſire me to acquaint you with all that I have been able to learn concerning the preſent war of Ruſſia againſt the Turks. This war, of the higheſt importance, by the end which the Ruſſian government propoſed to itſelf in it, and which tended to nothing leſs than rendering tributary, and ſubjecting the capital of the Ottoman empire, is equally ſingular by the nature of the country it was neceſſary to march through, and that of the nations it was requiſite to fight. The Generals, charged with the management of it, have been obliged, in conſequence, to depart from the common rules of the military art.

Previous to my account of the beſt informations I have received about it, I muſt however

tell your Lordſhip, that after having happily eſcaped, for the ſecond time, the dangers of the gulph of Finland, we anchored at Dantzick on the ſecond of this month. This city alſo lately took a fancy to try the weight of the Ruſſian arms,

Ceſaris Auguſtæ non reſponſura lacertis.

Her expences to increaſe her uſual garriſon of twelve hundred men to three thouſand, were very great; the damage ſhe ſuffered from five thouſand bombs, which the Ruſſians threw within her walls, was yet greater; and ſhe ended with paying ſome hundred thouſands of rubels into the treaſury of the Empreſs, whom ſhe had imagined herſelf able to reſiſt. The deputies which the city ſent to her on this occaſion, at Peterſburg, were moſt graciouſly received; but could not poſſibly obtain a ſingle copeik abatement of the ſum they were aſſeſſed at.

Thus Dantzick learnt to her coſt, as Marſeilles did formerly in the time of Caeſar and Pompey, not to meddle in the diſputes of the great; and from henceforth ſhe will probably think it beſt to be content with her Conſuls and municipal officers, her yearly income of eighty thouſand pounds ſterling, her garriſon, her fortifications, with the three hundred braſs cannon ſhe

has in her arſenal, and in being ſecured againſt the incurſions of the Poles, in their confederacies.

As to the reſt, the preſent conſtitution of the kingdom ought to make her perfectly eaſy, and it does not appear tkat ſhe has any thing to fear for her privileges, her Hanſeatiſm, or her liberty. Poland and Lithuania together, have ſcarcely eight thouſand troops on foot, and this is not the only evil of the ſtate. That univerſal *Veto* of each Nuncio, cannot be look upon in any other light than a *Veto* to the general good of the country; end the electing of a King ſpreads deſolation through it five or ſix times in a century.

Zealous citizens will likewiſe have it, that the want of toleration in that kingdom is a fatal wound, particularly to its population and trade; and that to this is owing that it is over-run with Jews, who carry away all its money. What might one not farther ſay of the ſlavery of the peaſants, and the juriſdiction of the Staroſts and others, who exerciſe rights which cannot belong to any but the Sovereign? It is much to be lamented, add the ſtaunch patriots, that the liberty of Poland ſhould depend on the good pleaſure of the neighbouring powers; when, to ſecure it, and render the republic reſpectable in their eyes,

nothing more need be done than remedy the diſorders of the conſtitution. This ſtep alone would reſtore its antient ſplendor to a kingdom one of the moſt conſiderable in Europe, watered by a great river which opens into the ſea, abounding in men and corn, and which wants nothing but good government, and its daughter induſtry.

Yet, my Lord, all theſe abuſes will ſubſiſt; too many people are intereſted in the continuation of the preſent anarchy. But, at all events, if Dantzick ſhould depend upon the crown of Poland, the whole kingdom would be in ſome meaſure tributary to this city, miſtreſs of the mouths of the Viſtula. The Poliſh Lords ſend thither, by means of that river, their corn, in which their only revenue conſiſts, and ſell it to the Dantzickers; the Poles not being allowed to vend it directly to foreigners, but during the ſpace of five days only, which the fair laſts.

The Dantzickers lay it up in vaſt granaries, which occupy a conſiderable part of their city. They afterwards ſell it to the Swedes, who give in exchange their own iron and china ware; and principally to the Dutch, whoſe foſter-mother Dantzick is. It is reckoned, that the value of the corn exported from hence yearly amounts to a million ſterling. It was formerly much

more conſiderable, when Poliſh wheat was ſold even in the Mediterranean. We all know that Venice, in a time of great ſcarcity, was victualled by Dantzick. This diminution of the only branch of commerce that Poland has, is imputed in a great meaſure to the progreſs which agriculture has made in England, and to the bounties which are granted there upon the exportation of corn when it is plentiful.

Next to corn, the greateſt trade of Dantzick conſiſts in brandy. This city is for the North, what Corfou and Zara are for the South. She ſells to the amount of ſix thouſand pounds ſterling of it every year to Peterſburgh only. In the time of the Empreſs Catharine, ſhe ſent thither twice that quantity; and thoſe were the fine days of Ruſſia, ſay the brandy-merchants of Dantzick.

Now, my Lord, that I have told you what ſeemed to me moſt intereſting with regard to Dantzick, and you know that travellers are apt to be prolix, I ſhall proceed to the war which the Ruſſians are carrying on againſt Turkey.

The motive, or, if you like it better, the pretext of the war, was to chaſtiſe the Tartars, who, for a long time paſt, ceaſed not to infeſt the Southern frontiers of the empire. The moſt conſiderable among them are thoſe of the

Crim: it is ſaid they can bring into the field eighty thouſand men. Beſides that peninſula, they poſſeſs on the continent the leſſer Tartary, ſituated along the Southern part of the ſea of Azoph and the Black-ſea. They have for allies, or under their dependance, thoſe of Kuban, who inhabit the Northern ſhores of the ſea of Azoph; and thoſe of Budziack, who are ſettled about the Neiſter, and extend from the Bog to the Danube. The Crim Tartars live in towns, and under a temperate climate, and cultivate a country rich in cattle and in corn. The others wander in deſarts, and cultivate only here and there a few ſpots of land.

They all acknowlege the Porte for their Sovereign and Protectreſs. By means of Caffa and Baluklava, in which there are Turkiſh garriſons, ſhe commands the Crim: ſhe keeps the Kuban Tartars in ſubjection, by Azoph which ſhe poſſeſſes at the mouth of the Tanais; and, laſtly, thoſe of Budziack by Bender, ſituated upon the Nieſter, and Oczakow, ſituated upon the weſtern ſhore of the Boryſthenes, at the place where, after having received the Bog, it falls into the ſea.

Like the other Mahometan Tartars, they live by plunder; whilſt the Calmucks and Mungals, idolaters by religion, wrong no one, but feed

upon their own cattle, like the Patriarchs of old. The Ruſſians have thrown up againſt thoſe of Kuban and the Crim, their moſt formidable enemies, two great entrenchments: the one extends from Tanais to the Wolga; and the other, incloſing a ſpace of an hundred leagues, reaches from the Boryſthenes to the Donetz, a river which falls into the Tanais above Azoph.

The fine province of Ukraine, between which and the leſſer Tartary runs the Samara, is the principal field of the incurſions of the Crimeans. It was formerly in alliance with the republic of Poland; and has ſince put itſelf under the protection of Ruſſia, which, ſince the defection of Mazeppa, its Chief or Hetman, has reduced it into a province of the empire. It is ſituated in a fine climate, and is rich in cattle, honey, wax, and all ſorts of grain. Its inhabitants are the Coſſacks, of the Greek religion; a warlike people, who have always been at blows with the Tartars, their neighbours. Theſe laſt, much more powerful, and conſtantly in the field, infeſted the Ukraine continually, carrying off from all parts of it herds and families. Their Cham has a tenth of the plunder, and the reſt is divided between their Murſas, or Captains, and the ſoldiers.

They had of late indulged themſelves in theſe lawleſs proceedings with ſo much the greater licentiouſneſs, as they ſaw a reciprocal miſunderſtanding prevail between Ruſſia and the Porte. Beſides the tranſient diſcontents, which ariſe daily between two rival and contiguous empires, on one ſide the Turks ſuſpected Ruſſia of favouring, under hand, their ſcourge Kouli Kan; and on the other hand, Ruſſia ſhewed great reſentment at the Turks not only claiming a right to paſs through certain provinces dependent on her, but even going ſo far, in their expeditions againſt the Perſians, as to violate her territory. The Porte thereupon ſtirred up the Tartars againſt Ruſſia; and they undertook, or rather continued the war ſo much the more willingly, as they knew the forces of their enemies were employed in Poland, where the events, which all turned to the advantage of the Ruſſian arms, ſerved only the more to irritate the Turks.

In ſeveral incurſions, the Tartars made a great booty in Ukraine, and a conſiderable number of ſlaves, who were ſold publicly at Conſtantinople, as taken from declared enemies. After many ineffectual complaints and writings, Ruſſia recurred to the laſt argument of Sovereigns; and, to chaſtiſe thoſe robbers, ſhe choſe the time when the troubles of Poland, to which

country ſhe had given a King, were on the point of ending, and when Kouli Kan buſied the Turks more than ever in Aſia.

In 1735, after having aſſembled an army in the Ukraine, the Empreſs ordered General Leonteff to penetrate to the Crim, with twenty thouſand regulat troops, and eight thouſand Coſſacks; and to put every thing there to fire and ſword. But ſetting out too late, he could go no farther than Crammerviſaton, upon the Boryſthenes, after having routed a few hordes or companies of Tartars, whom he met with in the deſart.

Next year, 1736, the campaign was more ſerious. The affairs of Poland being terminated, and peace agreed on between France and the Emperor, to whom Ruſſia had ſent ſuccours; this laſt turned all her forces againſt the Tartars. During the winter, Count Munich aſſembled an army upon the Tanais, which inveſted Azoph early in the ſpring. A fleet under the command of Rear-Admiral Bredal, conſiſting of ſeveral gallies and divers other ſhips, the crews of which had been brought from the Baltic, fell down from Veronitz. It carried the heavy artillery; and to cover and ſupport the ſiege, it took poſſeſſion of the river. Munich left the command of the army to Marſhal Laſcy, who was juſt

returned from the German war; and, to complete the enterprize of the preceding year againſt the Crim, he went and reſumed the command of the other army, which had been increaſed in Ukraine, where the principal ſeat of the war was eſtabliſhed.

He was obliged there to cut down a prodigious number of trees to make waggons of, to lay in conſiderable ſtores of meal, and to collect a very great number of men, horſes and oxen, to tranſport proviſions, for ſix months, through countries which yield nothing but forage. It was likewiſe neceſſary for him to provide quantities of caſks; in order not to be without water in deſarts, where, frequently, during ſeveral days journey, not any is to be met with.

Munich, having thus thought of every thing, left the Ukraine. His army marched in one or more ſquares, according to the ground; with the proviſions and baggage in the centre. Nothing was ſeen all around, on which ever ſide one looked, but the ſky, the graſs of the fields, and the Tartars who came by different intrenchments to attack him in one part or other. When repulſed on one ſide, they diſappeared in an inſtant; and ſometimes, ſo great were their numbers, they ſurrounded the whole army, like a thick cloud.

They were oppoſed by the Coſſacks and dragoons, who, divided into ſeveral ſquadrons, marched at the angles of the ſquare; and, in caſe of need, were inſtantly ſupported by the infantry, armed with long pikes, and provided with chevaux-de-friſe, which, ſet a-croſs with expedition, ſerved for an intrenchment: but moſt commonly the Tartars were diſperſed by a few vollies of artillery, of which the army conducted a numerous train. Sometimes, when the Ruſſians had the wind in face, the Tartars ſet fire to the graſs, which grows to a great height in thoſe deſarts. Their only defence then was, to dig ditches with all ſpeed, and throw up a rampart againſt the flames, which ſpread victoriouſly a long way around.

As the army advanced, the Ruſſians erected little forts from ſpace to ſpace, to preſerve their communication free with the Ukraine; and Munich left in a place called Somara, a ſmall intrenched camp, with a thouſand men, and ſome pieces of artillery, and moreover defended, before and behind, by the other little forts. Juſt ſo it was that the European colonies advanced in America, towards the habitations of the ſavages; and Julius Agricola uſed the very ſame precautions, when he undertook the conqueſt of Scotland, a kingdom then unknown and deſart. To

ſecure his rear, and link, as it were, his army with the provinces before ſubdued by the Romans, we find that he took care likewiſe to build forts from ſpace to ſpace. Only the chain of the Ruſſian forts was much longer, particularly becauſe the want of water did not allow them always to follow the ſhorteſt way, and that, to ſeek it, they were ſometimes obliged to make two or three marches out of their road.

With all theſe precautions, and all theſe difficulties, Munich advanced towards the Crim, leading an army of ſixty thouſand regular troops, and a ſtill greater number of waggons; whilſt that of Laſcy, leſs numerous, ſtraitened more and more Azoph, which he fortunately took in the month of July. Thus this important place, which, beſides that it keeps the Kuban in ſubjection, commands the Tanais and the Palus Maeotis, beheld again, three years ago, the Ruſſian eagles upon its ramparts. The Czar Peter had taken it in 1697; but, by the peace of Pruth, he was obliged to reſtore it. The Kuban Tartars likewiſe experienced the vengeance of the Ruſſians: they were beaten without mercy by one Donduc-Ombo, Chief of the Calmucks who dwell towards Aſtracan, under the protection of Ruſſia.

Munich, after almoſt continual ſkirmiſhes in

the deſarts he had to croſs, being arrived at the famous lines of Precop, prepared to attack them. They defend the entrance of the Crim, and are flanked with ſeveral towers, which formerly foiled the Ruſſian arms. The Cham was intrenched in them with all his troops, among which were ſome companies of Spahis and Janiſſaries. Munich having made a feint to attack them on one ſide, in reality fell upon another, and by that means eaſily forced them.

Before he penetrated into the country, he ſent, under the command of Leonteff, a great detachment towards Oczakow, in order not to have, upon his rear, the Tartars of Budziack, and the Turks who had already begun to be in motion in that part. Leonteff ſeized Kimburn, a ſmall fortreſs, ſituated upon the Boryſthenes, facing Oczakow; whilſt the Grand Vizir, encamped on the Danube, reinforced the garriſon of this laſt town, as well as that of Bender, watched the motions of the Auſtrians, who, having made a peace with France, under pretence of diſtributing their troops in more commodious quarters, formed an army in Hungary, and defended the frontiers of the empire on the ſide of Chriſtendom.

Having entered the Crim, Munich took Koſlow, a rich trading town, ſituated on the ſea;

Baciſaray, the reſidence of the Cham ſeated almoſt in the middle of the Peninſula, where he burnt the palaces of that Prince: he treated in the ſame manner Sultanſary, the place of reſidence of the Sultan-Galga, otherwiſe the preſumptive heir of the Cham; but in the middle of his career, when he threatened to exterminate the whole country, he ſtopped ſhort at once. Finding the country which led to Caffa, the principal object of his views, laid waſte by the Tartars themſelves, he was ſenſible that it would be extremely difficult for him to take that city.

Above all he feared leſt they ſhould croſs the marſhes of the Palus-Maeotis, by tracks which they know; and afterwards, joining thoſe of Budziack, attempt jointly with them to break into the Ukraine. This was really their ſcheme: they hoped to be before-hand with the Ruſſians in quickneſs, or at leaſt to find them harraſſed with fatigue; and, by the plunder of the Ukraine to make themſelves ſome amendments for the diſaſter of the Crim.

Munich therefore wheeled round towards the lines of Precop, which he raiſed in ſeveral places; and having rejoined Leonteff, who had demoliſhed Kimburn, at the ſame time too much within reach of the Turks, and too far diſtant from the Ruſſian frontiers, to think of keeping it, he

led his army back into the Ukraine, in the beginning of autumn; victorious indeed, but reduced to one-half, by the continual accidents and hardſhips it had undergone.

Even the winter did not ſuffice for his troops to recover from their vaſt fatigues. That is the very ſeaſon which the Tartars chooſe for their enterprizes; becauſe of the convenience of finding the ſwamps and rivers frozen, and of being thereby enabled to fall upon whatever place they pleaſe. Beſides, Munich's expedition forced them to defer till then the execution of their deſign. The Ruſſian army was therefore obliged to paſs almoſt the whole winter in action. A part upon guard againſt the Crim Tartars, was employed in defending the lines; along which, after the example of what Caeſar practiſed at thoſe of Dyrachium, ſignals of ſmoke gave inſtant notice of the enemies approach; the other part upon the look-out for thoſe of Budziack, kept inceſſantly breaking the ice of the Boryſthenes, in order to prevent their croſſing it.

However, notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt watch, the Tartars penetrated into more than one part of the Ukraine, and carried off from thence a very conſiderable booty. They draw the bow, and handle the lance and ſcimetar, with inimitable dexterity. Each of them has two or three

horſes; they mount ſometimes one, ſometimes another, and, in caſe of need, march five-and-twenty leagues a-day. If a horſe is not able to proceed, they kill him and feaſt upon his fleſh with their companions; or they turn him looſe in the deſart, where they afterwards find again plump, and well recovered. They carry with them only what is abſolutely neceſſary, and that can be but little indeed, for people accuſtomed to feed upon the fleſh of their horſes and the milk of their mares. So much are they inured to cold, that, in the ſevereſt nights, they make no fire, for fear of diſcovering themſelves to the enemy. Their cloaks, ſupported by a few ſticks ſtuck into the ground, ſerve them for tents, and the ſaddles of their horſes for pillows. During the winter, their horſes graze upon the graſs they find under the ſnow, with which they are forced to be content for their only drink. The main body of the army halts near the enemy's frontier: they then detach different parties, which are ordered to rejoin them on a fixed day, and generally return to the camp laden with plunder, as they did this year.

Scarcely was the war begun, with theſe various ſucceſſes, when propoſals were made for peace: the Perſians and the Auſtrians were the principal mediators. Kouli Kan had promiſed

not to conclude any treaty with Turkey, unleſs Ruſſia was included in it; but in this point he ſhewed little good faith, or great indifference. In fact, he was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when, finding upon his hands the rebels of Candahar backed by the Mogul, againſt whom he was determined to march; he could not be ſorry to ſee the Turks at war with the Ruſſians in Europe, whilſt he was going to over-run the richeſt part of Aſia. As to the Auſtrians, in the deſign they were in of repairing the loſſes they had juſt ſuſtained in their war with France, they thought of attacking the Turks, already harraſſed by the Perſian war, and thrown into freſh difficulties by that of Ruſſia; ſo that, whilſt they propoſed peace at Conſtantinople, they prepared every thing in Hungary to take the field in the ſpring.

In the mean time, opinions were divided, in the cabinet of Peterſburg, with regard to the reſolution moſt properly to be taken. Count d'Oſterman, an experienced miniſter, of eſtabliſhed reputation, fond of peace ſo neceſſary to the empire, and truſting with diffidence to ligues; adviſed indeed to chaſtiſe the Tartars, but at the ſame time to avoid an abſolute rupture with the Turks. He ſaid, that the laſt campaign ſufficed for the ſafety and honour of the empire;

that it was not prudent to expoſe it to danger, by engaging it in ſo difficult and burthenſome a war; that the Tartars were rather provoked than ſubdued; that the Turks, juſt rid of the Perſian war, might bend all their forces againſt Europe; that they already augmented, in the Black-ſea, the fleet which they had ſent thither the year before, to prevent if poſſible, the ſiege of Azoph; that they had reinforced the garriſons of the Crim, and were daily increaſing their army upon the banks of the Danube; that it was therefore proper to attend to the wiſe maxim which ſays, that one may begin a war when one pleaſes, but that it cannot be ended when one would chooſe; that ſucceſs was uncertain; and that, in continuing the war, the deſolation of the beſt provinces of the empire was unavoidable; in fine, it was in a manner impoſſible to keep conqueſts made upon the Turks, nature having eſtabliſhed between them and Ruſſia real limits, immenſe deſarts.

On the contrary, Count Munich, whom the Empreſs had called from the army to give his opinion in this important deliberation, and who ſought only to render himſelf neceſſary, and to make the world talk of him, adviſed war with all his might. He ſaid, that, with ſuch timid prudence, no enterprize would ever be ſet about;

that nothing was ſo hurtful to time, as time, and that, all things conſidered, there could not be a fairer opportunity: that the Turkiſh empire was agitated within itſelf, by the dubious fidelity of the Bacha of Babylon, and the motions of Egypt; that the Grand Seignor's treaſury was exhauſted, and that it was impoſſible for him to make war, without violent exactions which would make the people rebel againſt him; that his Aſiatic troops were effeminate, and little fit to contend with well-diſciplined ſoldiers; that howſoever numerous his armies might be, a part of them would be obliged to face the Auſtrians, who were already preparing to attack him; that ſince they thought the preſent moment a favourable one, why ſhould not Ruſſia judge it to be the ſame? That it would be wrong to expect ever to have a truce with the Tartars, if the Turks, on whom they depend, were not conſtrained by dint of arms to conclude a peace glorions for the empire: that Princes ought to reſent injuries done to their Crown, in ſo exemplary a manner, as to prevent even the hazard of their being repeated; that was ſtill far leſs the tranſient robberies and incurſions of the Tartars that were to be regarded, than the ſhame of the treaty of Pruth, the Caudian forks of Ruſſia; and that it was high time to wipe off that ignominy: that

a woman had lately ſaved the empire, and that it was reſerved for another woman heireſs to both the dominions and the virtues of Peter the Great, to avenge it; that after having given a king to Poland, and ſhewn her armies upon the Rhine, the propitious events of the laſt campaign ought to inſpire that Princeſs with a juſt hope of accompliſhing the Czar's great deſign, of maſtering the Crim, the chief granary of Conſtantinople, and of having a fleet upon the Black ſea: that if fortune continued to be favourable, much more might be expected; that the event might, perhaps, be nothing leſs than driving the Turks out of Europe and Conſtantinople, that metropolis, of the Greek empire, all the members of which looking upon the Czarina as their legitimate ſovereign, placed in her their only hope, called upon her to deliver them from the yoke of infidels, and ſighed only for the moment of inliſting under her banners.

Munich had ingratiated himſelf by his expeditions againſt Dantzick and the Crim. His bold advice pleaſed the Empreſs; and, in conſequence thereof, ſhe determined to unite more cloſely than ever with the Emperor, and to continue the war with redoubled vigour.

The thread of the pacific negociations was not, however, yet broken. While the parties were

deliberating which would be the fitteſt place for the congreſs, which was afterwards held fruitleſsly at Nimirow, a town in Poland, the Auſtrians declared war againſt the Turks, and immediately ſpread themſelves in Boſnia, Servia, Walachia, and Moldavia. In their manifeſto, they expatiated greatly upon the dangers which threatened the Roman empire, ſince the peace concluded between the Perſians and the Grand Seignor, and alluding to certain articles concerning the pilgrimage of Mecca, and other matters of religion, which thoſe two powers had agreed on, they aſſerted that Chriſtendom was undone by the reconciliation of the ſects of Omar and Ali, and the re-union of Mahometiſm, if it did not exert all its power againſt ſuch formidable enemies.

Count Munich projected this year a more ſerious enterprize than that of the laſt campaign: it was the ſiege of Oczakow, defended by above twenty thouſand Turks, and plentifully provided in every reſpect. In order to batter the town on the ſide next the ſea, and at the ſame time have wherewith to oppoſe the gallies which the Turks keep there, to hinder the Coſſacks from deſcending the river with their barks, and infeſting the coaſts of the black ſea; a little fleet was built upon the Boryſthenes, which takes its riſe in

Ruſſia, and paſſes through the Ukraine. But as there was a neceſſity for building it above the cataracts and rocks, through which this river falls, during a pretty long courſe, the veſſels could be only flat-bottomed, and therefore proved of very little ſervice at ſea.

The fleet which the Ruſſians fitted out upon the Tanais was much more conſiderable. It was intended, in caſe of need, to fight that of the Turks; and to back Marſhal Laſcy, who was to march into the Crim, to keep the Tartars employed there, and by that means facilitate Munich's enterprize upon Oczakow.

Very early in the ſpring, Munich ſet out from the Ukraine with an army of between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand men, a very great train of proviſions and artillery, and two thouſand camels to carry the baggage and tents. He divided his army into three bodies, which paſſed the Boryſthenes over three different bridges: one of them was at Perewolozna, near the place where Charles the XII croſſed the river when he retreated to Bender, after the battle of Pultava. This bridge was upwards of three hundred feet in length, and reſted upon an hundred and twenty-eight barks. Munich, having re-united his army on the other ſide of the river, quickened his march, as much as he poſſibly could, in

order to arrive before ſome new ſuccours, which the Grand Vizir, encamped on the Danube, was ſending to Oczakow both by ſea and by land; and having likewiſe croſſed the Bog without oppoſition, he was within reach of the place by the end of June.

The power of diſcipline was manifeſted in the attack of a great intrenchment before Oczakow, defended by a conſiderable number of Turks, and that of fortune in the taking of the town. The Ruſſians attacked the intrenchment three ſeveral times, though ſeverally repulſed the two firſt, and at length their courage carried it. With regard to the place, they attacked it on the ſtrongeſt ſide; owing to their not having well reconnoitred it, and to their not having a plan of its works. They were moreover unprovided with faſcines, gabions, and the other neceſſaries for a ſiege; theſe being on board the little fleet, which did not arrive till a fortnight after the ſurrender of the town.

What occaſioned that ſurrender was, a bomb which Munich's fortunate ſtar directed to fall upon a magazine of powder. Under favour of the confuſion which the flames occaſioned in the town, the Ruſſians ſtormed and entered it. The garriſon were made priſoners of war, with the Seraſkier who commanded them; and it is ſaid,

that on this day periſhed all the fruit of the European diſcipline which Bonneval had introduced into Turky, and which conſiſted in ſome companies of cannoneers, formed at his ſchool. Loewendahl and Keith, who animated the Ruſſians, ſtill more by their examples than by their words, were wounded in the attack. Keith was thereby diſabled from ſerving during the reſt of the war: Loewendahl ſoon recovered, and continued it with great glory.

In the mean time the Turkiſh army, which increaſed every day under the walls of Bender, was already in motion; and this obliged Munich to remain before Oczakow, till he had repaired its fortifications. This General, forced by want of ſubſiſtence to return into the Ukraine, rightly foreſaw that the enemy would not fail to endeavour to re-take that important place; and accordingly he did not retreat till after he had put it in the beſt poſture of defence. In effect, he had no ſooner decamped, than the Turks appeared and laid ſiege to it. They loſt a great many men in this attempt, and were at laſt compelled to retreat, through the vigorours reſiſtance of General Stolffen, whom the little fleet, left by Munich, at the mouth of the river, ſeconded perfectly well. In the ſeveral ſallies of the Ruſſians, the advantage of their pikes over

the ſcimetars of the Turks was manifeſt: they had before experienced the uſefulneſs of the chevaux de frize, againſt the Turkiſh cavalry.

Whilſt Munich was advancing towards Oczakow, Laſcy prepared, in the ſame year 1737, to enter the Crim. Many of his ſoldiers, and even ſeveral officers, among whom were ſome of the beſt in his army, by no means approved of this enterprize, and murmured loudly againſt it in his camp; as formerly happened in that of Caeſar, when it was known that he was going to march againſt Arioviſtus. After his example, Laſcy gave the diſcontented leave to retire; he ſigned their diſmiſſions, and ordered a guard to eſcort them into the Ukraine. Three days after, they acknowleged their fault, and begged leave to follow him.

He marched from Aſoph, through the leſſer Tartary, along the ſhore of the Palus Maeotis; receiving his proviſions from the fleet which coaſted it, under the command of Bredal. This General took care to ſecure his communication with Azoph, by a chain of forts; and upon the river Moloſkinawodi, he erected a fort in which he left the ſick. The Cham, with his troops, waited for him behind the lines of Precop, which he had reſtored; but he waited in vain.

At the diſtance of a few marches from the iſthmus, there is on the ſide of Tartary a kind of cape, called Geniczi; facing which, towards Arabat, a long ſlip of land projects out from the Crim. They are parted only by a very narrow channel, thro' which the Palus-Maeotis enters into a great Lake, which bathes that part of the iſthmus. Laſcy, to deceive the Cham who expected him at Precop, halted at Geniczi; and, having thrown a bridge over the arm of ſea, croſſed it eaſily with his army.

When he was within two days march of Arabat, he learnt that a body of Tartars had haſtened thither, and defended the entrance of the peninſula. What was to become of him and his, between two ſeas, upon a neck of land, where a handful of men could ſtop the moſt numerous army; it being impoſſible there to make any diſpoſition, and to extend the troops ſo as to attack the enemy with the leaſt hope of forcing a paſſage? Laſcy ordered the Lake to be ſounded, and, finding that the horſes would have but a very little way to ſwim, he commanded a bridge or raft to be made as well as could be with the caſks, chevaux-de-frize, and, in general, all the wood that was in the army, from the neck of land to the ſhore of the peninſula; and at the ſame time he cauſed a large ditch to be dug

from the Lake to the ſea, to ſerve for defence to the rear-guard and the baggage. Thus, having no enemy before or behind, the army paſſed over at its eaſe. As the bridge had not conſiſtence enough to bear the horſes, they were led by the bridle, and either fathomed or ſwam as occaſion required.

The Tartars abandoned Arabat and Precop, as ſoon as they knew that the Ruſſians had entered the Crim; and Laſcy fell upon that part of the peninſula which Munich had not touched the year before. He took and burnt Caraybaſſar, one of the richeſt towns in thoſe regions, and laid waſte the whole country; ſkirmiſhing inceſſantly with the Tartars, who, mixed with the Turks, attacked him ſucceſſively on all ſides. At length, making a feint of marching againſt Arabat, he turned to the left, and quitted the Crim, carrying off with him numbers of priſoners, and a great quantity of booty, by another ſlip of land called Schoungar, near Geniczi; and put his troops into winter quarters along the Tanais and the Donetz.

Laſcy's campaign was not attended with any other events; unleſs one ſhould reckon as an occurrence of ſome importance, an engagement in the month of Auguſt, during two days, between Bredal's fleet and that of the Turks; after

which, they returned; the one to Azoph, and the other to Caffa, from whence they had come.

A third expedition which the Ruſſians, ſtill under Laſcy's command, made into the ſame country the following year, 1738, was not more ſucceſsful than the former. The plan was to to take at length Caffa, (the antient Theodoſia,) in order to have a port upon the Black-ſea, and a footing in the Crim. This town, formerly the Meſſina of Greece, was well ſituated to anſwer both theſe views, beſides being the richeſt and moſt trading place in the whole country. It has an excellent road, with a very fine harbour, in which lies the Turkiſh fleet of the Euxine ſea. Beſides corn, butter, and ſalt, an incredible quantity of ſalt fiſh is purchaſed there, and diſtributed all over Europe, and even to the farthermoſt part of the Indies.

Caffa was formely the bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the Huns, who, from the depths of Tartary, over-ran this frontier of the Greek empire. At laſt they took it, and the Genoeſe, who, when Conſtantinople was declining, gave law upon the Black-ſea with their ſhips, conquered it from them in 1266. That republic kept it upwards of two centuries; till at length the Turks, having ſettled themſelves in Europe,

ſwallowed up every thing around them. Since their getting poſſeſſion of it under Mahomet II, they kept it in a ſtrong garriſon. There are ſtill to be ſeen in this town ſeveral monuments of the Genoeſe dominion.

Laſcy was obliged to give up his deſign upon Caffa, by the dreadful condition to which the country he muſt neceſſarily paſs through, in order to arrive there, was reduced; and principally by the diſperſion of Bredal's fleet, occaſioned by a ſtorm. He depended on it for the ſubſiſtence of his army, and was to be backed by it in the ſiege. So that this year the incurſion of the Ruſſians into the Crim, ended in deſtroying the fortreſs, and a part of the lines of Precop, and in ſkirmiſhing, as uſual, againſt the Tartars; after which, having left Donduc-Ombo in Azoph, with a good garriſon, Laſcy took up his quarters in the Ukraine.

What was moſt ſingular in this expedition, was the manner in which this Ruſſian army penetrated into the Crim. It was neither by the Arabat neck of land, nor by that of Schoungar, as Laſcy had intended. The Tartars had taken early poſſeſſion of thoſe poſts, and guarded alſo the lines of the iſthmus, with extreme vigilance. He was quite at a loſs what ſtep to take, when a Tartar informed him of a place, not far from

Precop, where the ſea has very little depth, and which frequently is even dry for ſome time, when the wind blows from the Weſt. Upon this, Laſcy determined boldly to try his fortune; and the moment he ſaw this favourable wind ariſe, he diſpoſed his army upon a line, forced his march, and paſſed into the Crim dry footed.

As to Munich, after the taking of Oczakow in 1737, and his return into the Ukraine, he employed himſelf in giving the neceſſary orders to ſecure the province from the incurſions of the Tartars, in recruiting his army, and in collecting proviſions for the enſuing campaign. The Ruſſians and the Auſtrians had to concert their operations againſt their common enemies; and to contrive, if poſſible, to get them between two fires.

The Auſtrians, who had attacked the Turks on every ſide in the beginning of the ſummer, and were reduced to the bare defenſive towards the latter end of the campaign; propoſed beſieging Viden, a place ſituated upon the Danube, frontier of Bulgaria: whilſt, to facilitate this enterprize, the Ruſſians ſhould ſend a numerous body of troops into Tranſilvania, in order to buſy a part of the Turkiſh forces, which increaſed every day in Hungary; and to make a ſtill more conſiderable diverſion, they demand-

ed, that whilſt Laſcy ſhould penetrate into the Crim, Munich ſhould undertake the ſiege of Choczim, a town ſituated upon the Neiſter, and frontier of the Turks on the ſide of Poland.

Ruſſia ſent no army into Tranſilvania, thoſe of Laſcy and Munich ſtanding equally in need of recruiting; and inſtead of the ſiege of Choczim, it was reſolved at Peterſburg to form that of Bender. It was ſaid at the Czarian Court, that this diverſion, which would afford an opportunity to complete the reduction of the Budziack Tartars, would alſo ſuffice to facilitate the operations of the Auſtrians; and that a ſtill farther reaſon for fixing upon it was, that, by this means, the troops would not be removed to a diſtance from the new conqueſts, and that they would always be within reach of the Boryſthenes, whoſe courſe they would only have to follow during the greateſt part of their march.

Accordingly, Munich croſſed the Boryſthenes, directing his courſe towards Bender. He advanced with great precaution, encamping always upon the borders of ſome river, for the convenience of water and forage, of which there is a ſcarcity in thoſe countries. The Ruſſian army, in the midſt of thoſe deſarts, was like a huge ſhip, carrying with it its magazines, and ſpreading terror all around where-ever it appears. The

ſick in the army were leſs attended to than they are at ſea; becauſe it was impoſſible to erect hoſpitals in thoſe arid plains, and to procure them any of the reliefs which are uſual in the wars of Europe.

When the Ruſſians happened to lay their hands upon any ſheep or oxen belonging to the enemy, who always kept a-head of them; the feaſting in their camp was like that on ſhip board, when, in the midſt of a long voyage, freſh proviſions chance to be received. As faſt as the army conſumed its proviſions, the waggons were burnt, and the oxen which drew them were eaten, being then no longer fit for any other purpoſe.

Munich coaſted the Neiſter for a long time, in hopes of finding an oportunity to croſs it, and to ſtrike out a road to Bender: but the Turks, who kept the oppoſite ſhore, and never loſt ſight of him for a moment, prevented his ſo doing. He was forced to be perpetually ſkirmiſhing with the Tartars, who, ſupported by a body of Turks, kept on the ſame ſide of the river as he was, attacked him continually, one moment in the flank, another in the rear, and ſucceeded wonderfully in carrying off his proviſions. Among the great number of ſkirmiſhes which he was compelled to have with them,

ſome were ſo conſiderable, that they might not improperly be called battles. Had it not been for the vigilance of their General, and the ſtrict diſcipline to which he ſubjected the whole army, the Ruſſians were loſt beyond recovery. Harraſſed in every ſhape, and obliged not to quit their arms, he ſhewed himſelf always equally ready to march, or to fight.

At length, extremely weakened by his continual victories, without hope of croſſing the Neiſter, and far from being able to attempt any new enterprize; forced to think of his own ſafety, by ſo much the more urgent, as the plague ſpread every day farther and farther in that country, he reſolved to return into the Ukraine. But firſt he took the precaution to raze Oczakow, which had coſt the lives of twenty thouſand Ruſſians, and which it was impoſſible to keep this year, as the Turks had a numerous army near it: he judged it moſt prudent not to defend at all a place which muſt abſolutely be loſt.

The wretched ſucceſs of this campaign, as well on the part of the Ruſſians, as on that of the Auſtrians, occaſioned mutual complaints between the two allied Courts. The diſſatisfied at Vienna ſaid, that Munich and Laſcy had only juſted againſt the

Tartars, and that their expeditions had been nothing more than mere tournaments, whilſt the Auſtrians had to encounter the Grand Vizir, with the flower of the Ottoman troops.

The Ruſſians ſaid on the contrary, that the war which they carried on was more ſerious than people thought; that it had already coſt them above an hundred thouſand ſoldiers, and that all the miſchief was owing to the Auſtrians, who, in 1737, had parcelled out their army, abandoned the Danube and their fleet, and neglected to march againſt Viden, a conqueſt then as eaſy as it was important, and on which, in a great meaſure, the ſucceſs of the war depended. They added, that in 1738, the Auſtrians had loſt Orſova, the bulwark of Belgrade, by the ſcantineſs of troops they had in the field, the continual changes of Generals, the fickleneſs of their counſels, the inſtability of their reſolutions, and other ſuch like diſorders, for which they could blame none but themſelves.

With theſe mutual diſcontents, the allied courts continued the war this year, 1739, when the meditation of France, for a general peace, was at length accepted by both ſides. Laſcy remained in the Ukraine. Donduc-Ombo, whom he left in the Kuban, alone kept up the war againſt the Tartars; purſuing them in their moſt

inacceſſible retreats, hewing down all he met with, carrying off their women and children to people Ruſſia, and forming betwixt it and Tartary a real deſart. Such is the manner in which the Orientals make war. By ruining the provinces which ſurround them, and tranſporting elſewhere their inhabitants, they think their frontiers better guarded, than by the conſtruction of the beſt fortreſſes.

The uneaſineſſes occaſioned by the Swedes were what kept Laſcy in the Ukraine. They were in the cloſeſt correſpondence with the Porte, of which they had been acknowleged friends and allies; they held private conferences at Stockholm, with the miniſter of France, they expected from Breſt a ſquadron in their ports, they worked inceſſantly at the increaſe of their naval forces, they had formed in Finland vaſt magazines of proviſions; and under pretence of changing their garriſons, they ſent thither daily freſh troops. Laſcy remained therefore in Ukraine ready, at the firſt motion, to run with his army againſt the Swedes, on whoſe ſide the government had taken care to put the frontier in the beſt ſtate of defence.

It was ſettled with the court of Vienna, that, this year, Munich ſhould march directly againſt Choczim, through Poland. This expedient fa-

cilitated to the Ruſſians the means of procuring proviſions, and put them within reach of backing the Auſtrians in Hungary. In conſequence hereof Munich was ſent, in the beginning of the month of May, with a body of troops, ſwelled with ſeveral bands of Coſſacks, to the Weſtern ſhore of the Boryſthenes, with orders to march on along that river, thereby ſeeming to intend for Bender, as in the laſt campaign: but all on a ſudden he croſſed higher up, and entered into the Palatinate of Volhinia.

To ſet foot in Poland, and to demand a paſſage, was done at the ſame time. The reaſon alleged was neceſſity, which renders all things licit; and promiſes were made that every thing ſhould be punctually paid for, and the ſtricteſt diſcipline obſerved. The Poles, who, when they firſt ſaw the Ruſſians upon their frontiers, threatened them loudly, in caſe they ſhould attempt to diſturb the neutrality of the republic, became mute, the moment they found themſelves ſurrounded by their arms.

As to the Turks, they expected the Ruſſians upon the banks of the Neiſter; and the moment they knew of their being in Volhinia, they croſſed the river, and entered into Poland by Podolia. They ſaid that they followed the example of their enemies, whom, as to the reſt, it was

their buſineſs to ſeek where ever they were. In a very little time, the Tartars had over-run and plundered this fertile province, watered by ſeveral rivers, which form quantities of fine meadows; and which ſupplies the half of Europe with corn. The inhabitants of the country, frightened out of their ſenſes, fled on all ſides, abandoned their effects to the mercy of the ſoldiers, and thought only of avoiding ſlavery. A ſtriking example that, in order to be a quiet ſpectator of the wars of one's neighbours, one muſt be able to fight them; and that a neutrality is no farther reſpected, than it is reſpectably armed.

While the Turks proceeded no farther in Poland than barely to watch Munich, in Hungary the Grand Vizir had turned all his views towards Belgrade. He found the ſiege of that important place facilitated by the taking of Orſova the year before, and by the weakneſs of the Auſtrian affairs in that kingdom, where he purpoſed increaſing their diſorder ſtill farther, by being early in the field. His plan ſucceeded to his wiſh. Vallis, who commanded the Emperor's army, let the Turks take the camp of Croſtka, near Belgrade; and afterwards imprudently reſolved to attack them in it.

This General expected to ſurprize there a

body of only ſixteen thouſand men; but he found in it the whole army, well intrenched, and defended by the artillery of a redoubt, which flanked the adjacent country. His confidence made him even neglect to march with all his forces. He advanced through a narrow paſs between two mountains; and as faſt as his troops filed off to put themſelves in order of battle, they were received by the Turks, who had already made all their diſpoſitions, and cut them in pieces one after another. The front of Vallis's army conſiſted in horſe; for whoſe operations the ground, where they were obliged to fight, was by no means proper. Theſe, and other ſimilar circumſtances, occaſioned, on the twenty-ſecond of laſt month, the total defeat of the Ruſſians; and now we may expect, every day, to ſee the Turks encamped under the walls of Belgrade.

Theſe, my Lord, are the lateſt accounts: we learnt them here at the Palatineſs of Maſſovia's, a Lady whoſe merit equals the high reputation of her illuſtrious ſpouſe.

LETTER VIII.

To the ſame.

Hamburg, September 30th, 1739.

THE ſiege of Belgrade was in a manner the immediate conſequence of the battle of Croſtka. Vallis's army, extremely weakened, having retreated under the walls of that place, the Grand Vizir was at liberty to ſend a body of troops over the Danube, and thereby to command both ſides of that river; which was by ſo much the eaſier to him, as the Auſtrians, who had already had the mortification to ſee a part of the fleet which they kept upon it, deſtroyed by the Turks, had juſt been obliged to burn the reſt of it themſelves, to prevent its falling into the hands of the conquerors.

The body of Turks which had paſſed the Danube, was conſiderable enough to raiſe apprehenſions in regard to Temeſwar; for which reaſon, Vallis, having left a ſtrong garriſon in Belgrade, reſolved to croſs the river, and run to the aſſiſtance of that town. By theſe means the

Grand Vizir ſucceeded in his ſcheme, and made the Auſtrians abandon their lines, between the Saave and the Danube, from which, twenty-two years before, Prince Eugene had ſallied forth againſt another Vizir, ſecure of victory. This Vizir immediately took poſſeſſion of them.

Vallis got the better of the Turks at Panzova, which did not however hinder them from forming the ſiege of Belgrade; and in order to ſuccour it, he found himſelf conſtrained, a few days after, to repaſs the river. The Vizir, maſter of the Danube, blocked the place up almoſt on every ſide. The Auſtrians had nothing left but that angle of land on the Weſt, between the Saave and the Danube, where Semlin ſtands; and not to loſe his communication with Belgrade, Vallis eſtabliſhed his camp in that place.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the negociations for peace were reſumed, more briſkly than ever, by the French Ambaſſador, who was then in the Turkiſh camp. The Emperor ſent thither Count Neuperg, an experienced politician, who ſigned the peace on the 31ſt of Auguſt. Solemnly diſavowed, and yet regularly obſerved, by the Court of Vienna, it is in every reſpect the moſt myſterious that ever was heard of.

Among the other advantages which accrue from it to the Porte, the Emperor cedes to that power the fortreſs of Belgrade, that principal bulwark of Germany againſt the infidels, which has coſt Chriſtendom ſo much blood and treaſure; whilſt there ſtill was an army in the field to ſuccour it, whilſt the Governor anſwered for defending it at leaſt two months longer, and finally whilſt the Ruſſians, allies of Auſtria, who are not ſo much mentioned in the treaty of peace, had juſt gained over the Turks, in the ſight of Hungary, a complete victory, of which the conſequences were already conſiderable, and on the point of becoming much more ſo.

Marſhal Count Munich, at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men, was drawing towards Choczim, after having traverſed Poland. He had ſent General Romanzoff with a ſtrong detachment againſt Kaminiek, a frontier place of Poland in that part, and ſituated upon the Zabruck, which falls a little lower into the Nieſter, with orders to feign a deſign to paſs the river there; whilſt he himſelf, at the head of his lighteſt troops, making a forced march of near ſixty miles in two days, croſſed the Nieſter above Kaminiek, and thereby deceived the Turks, who waited for him lower down upon the borders of the Zabruck, behind ſtrong entrench-

ments defended by a good artillery. Their army conſiſted of forty-five thouſand men, and the Tartars their auxiliaries were ſtill more numerous. As ſoon as they heard that Munich had croſſed the Nieſter, they inſtantly paſſed it themſelves, and haſtened with all ſpeed to cover Choczim, towards which he was marching.

A camp could not be more advantageouſly placed than in the ſpot they choſe: it was a plain which partly commanded the country, and ſituated ſo that they had Choczim in their rear, in their front a little river forming moraſſes here and there, on their right heights and woods which they took care to occupy, and on their left a great valley not to be come at but through narrow paths and precipices. They afterwards left nothing undone to render their camp inacceſſible. Munich was obliged to give them ſufficient time for it. He was compelled to ſtay for Romanzoff, who conducted the baggage and heavy artillery of the army, and was ſtopped in his way by an inundation, which carried away the bridges prepared for his paſſage: he was likewiſe forced to look about him a while in the enemy's country, in order to get the neceſſary informations, to victual his army, to reconnoitre well the camp he was going to attack, and, at the ſame time, to concert matters ſo as not

to loſe, either his advantages by too much quickneſs, or the opportunity by too great ſlowneſs.

At length Munich, having obſerved that the left wing was the leaſt difficult to break, marched on the 20th of Auguſt, in the morning, threatening only the right. He feigned to direct all his efforts againſt that ſide, attacking the heights, penetrating into woods, and throwing ſhowers of bombs into the Turkiſh camp. The Turks ran thither to ſupport it; and while the fight grew warm in that part, Munich cauſed the greateſt part of his troops to file off, with great quickneſs, to the other ſide; ſo that the left wing was immediately ſurrounded by them. Before they had diſcovered the real place of attack, and were able to bring aſſiſtance up to it, the Ruſſians had already paſſed the defiles, beaten down all that guarded their entrance, and pointed batteries againſt thoſe of the Turks.

Whilſt Munich was making theſe movements, a cloud of Tartars attacked him behind, and a body of Janiſſaries, animated with dauntleſs intrepidity, forced their way almoſt through the main body of his army. Victory, nevertheleſs, declared for him: he found quantities of amunitions of war and proviſions in the Turkiſh camp; and, without loſs of time, inveſted Choczim, which ſurrendered on the 30th at diſ-

cretion, the Ottoman army having retreated to Bender.

From Choczim, Munich marched in a kind of triumph to Pruth; and diſplaying the ſtandards taken from the Turks, he reſtored there, ſo far as it was poſſible for him to do, the honour of the Ruſſian arms, which he had ſo glorioufly avenged. In a few days after he entered Jaſſey, the capital of Moldavia, depoſed there the Hoſpodar Gica, and proclaimed in his ſtead Cantemir, who ſerved in his army, receiving with great demonſtrations of joy, in the name of the Czarina, the homage and fealty of that Greek province.

In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, when the Ruſſians and the Auſtrians, who were in poſſeſſion of Tranſylvania, were parted by but a few hours diſtance, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, and ſome ſquadrons of Coſſacks had actually penetrated into Bulgaria, peace was concluded under the walls of Belgrade, in the name of the Emperor, by Count Neuperg. Soon after it was likewiſe ſigned, in the name of the Czarina, by a Ruſſian Plenipotentiary, whom the dexterous Count d' Oſterman had diſpatched to the Grand Vizir, immediately after the news of the defeat at Croſtka.

Both theſe treaties were negociated by the

mediation of France, who, ſome years before, having terminated the broils of Europe, by acquiring for herſelf Lorraine, and the kingdom of Naples for a Prince of her houſe, has now pacified it, by making the Auſtrians on one hand cede to the Porte, Belgrade diſmantled, with a part of Wallachia and Servia; and by making the Porte, on the other hand, cede to the Czarina, Azoph likewiſe diſmantled, with a promiſe on the part of the Turks, to tie up the hands of the Tartars, ſo that they ſhall no longer infeſt the frontiers of Ruſſia.

Such was the end of a war which ſeemed, in its beginning, to threaten the ruin of the Ottoman empire in Europe: it muſt be owned that the Turks conducted it with profound ſkill; temporizing when it was proper ſo to do, and acting upon occaſion with vivacity and ardour. Dexterity commonly fixes fortune, as they have juſt experienced. The Auſtrians have loſt in this war a great part of the reputation of their arms, and the frontier they ſtood moſt in need of. As to the Ruſſians, if they have gained honour by it, they pay very dear for that acquiſition. Their fineſt provinces have been laid waſte, and their empire exhauſted of money, ſoldiers and mariners, and ſtill expoſed to the ſame dangers as before: weakened as it is, it is

far leſs fit to attain that point of grandeur, which was their object when they took up arms.

If, after ſuch great events, I might be allowed to ſpeak of myſelf, I would tell you, my Lord, that from Dantzick we took the road to Dreſden. With talking of trade, war, and politics, I had forgot to enquire at Dantzick after the obſervatory of that famous aſtronomer, Eveillon. We were juſt ſetting off when I recollected it. The celebrated Halley performed a pilgrimage thither; and as that great man had taken a very long journey to viſit it, I would not have to reproach myſelf ſome day or other with the neglect of not ſeeing it. Accordingly, I went to this celeſtial vedette, where no one now examines the heavens; and after that we proceeded on our journey the 15th of Auguſt.

After traverſing a vaſt extent of country ſo entirely ſandy, that an Antediluvian would maintain it to have been formerly the bed of the ſea; we coaſted, a little before our arrival at Francfort, the fertile banks of the Oder, which, like the Duna, conveys into the Baltic ſuch fine maſts for ſhips.

At Francfort we croſſed the river, and paſſing through Luſatia, a province full of woods, and famous for its beautiful linnen, we reached Dreſden in ſeven days; from whence you may

judge, my Lord, that one does not travel poſt in this country, as in France and Italy.

Dreſden is a city too well known for me to ſet about deſcribing it to you. I will only obſerve, that the politeneſs of the people there is anſwerable to the magnificence of the court, and that the ſkilful eyes of your ladies would find a great pleaſure in running over the rich emeralds and ſuperb diamonds which glitter in the King's treaſury; as well as the fine porcelaine, both of Japan and China, which is kept in a palace called the Dutch, and which, one of thoſe days, is to be covered with tiles of porcelaine, like ſome Chineſe buildings.

I ſay nothing to you about that fine embroidery with thread which is wrought at Dreſden, and which renders the name of that place ſo famous in the female world. Some would likewiſe adviſe the making of point-lace there, leſs dear, as is done at Marſeilles, in order to increaſe the trade of the country. For the ſame reaſon again, others would have the moulds and colours of the porcelaine that is made in Saxony, be of a better taſte. The pagodas daubed with blotches of various hues, the little miniatures, the gildings, the over-loaded ornaments, and the deſigns void of gracefulneſs, diſpleaſe them greatly in theſe precious trifles,

which, ſay they, ought only to hit the fancy. One of thoſe French artiſts who direct the manufactory of Chantilly, would be neceſſary at Meiſſen, to furniſh models there.

I think too, that it ſhould be made an object of attention more than it is, to copy the old porcelaine of Japan and China; the ſhapes of which, like the plants and animals that are brought to us from thoſe countries, have in them a ſomewhat noble and exotic at the ſame time. Above all, I believe that this trade, already very conſiderable, would become much greater ſtill, if the Saxons applied themſelves to the imitation of antiques. With how many ſorts of vaſes, equally elegant and ſimple, might they not enrich their warehouſes? What pleaſure would it be to have, in fine white porcelaine, choſen pieces of bas-reliefs, a ſeries of medaillons of the Emperors and Philoſophers, and the moſt eſteemed ſtatues, ſuch as thoſe of the Venus of Medicis, the Faun, Antinous, Laocoon, the dying gladiator, Apollo, modelled in ſmall. I imagine that all the cabinets and deſerts in England would be ornamented with them.

I know not, my Lord, whether you may have heard, that it is to the folly or madneſs of making gold that we are indebted for this fine Saxon porcelaine. The father of the now

reigning King had a vaſt opinion of the great work, and having invited to Dreſden a famous Alchymiſt of his days, this laſt, in ſeeking for the Philoſopher's ſtone, found out the porcelaine, which is really worth gold. The firſt that was made was brown, and is become very ſcarce. I have found means to procure a piece of it, which I intend for the muſeum of our friend, General Churchill, who would not have envied Sannazar his eclogues, but his collection of porcelaine.

From Dreſden we proceeded to Leipzig, acroſs the fineſt country in the world. Saxony, if one may ſo ſay, is but a ſpan of land; but the beſt cultivated that eye can behold, full of people and of induſtry. At every quarter of a Germain mile, or a little more than one of your miles, there is a miliary pillar upon the roads. It ſeemed to me as if I was travelling in miniature in the Roman empire.

We arrived at Leipzig at the time that preparations were making for the fair. Almoſt all Germany, and half of Poland and Hungary meet there, to provide themſelves as well with manufactures of the country, as of foreigners, whoſe productions are tranſmitted thither by way of Hamburgh, from whence Germany has a ſight of the ocean.

This fair is a ſource of riches to the country.

Of this it has given, and gives every day, great proofs. Accordingly, ſay the people here, it is the Elector of Saxony who does the honours of the King of Poland. To form to one's ſelf an idea of the wealth and reſources of Saxony, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that, ſince the death of Charles XII, very great contributions have been raiſed in it at different times, without at all ſinking the public credit, which, to ſpeak like an Engliſhman, is the pulſe of a ſtate.

Another continual ſource of riches for this Electorate, is the ſilver mines of Freyberg. They are at leaſt upon a par with thoſe of Hartz, poſſeſſed in common by the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, and are the richeſt that are known in Europe, ſince thoſe of Greece and Spain no longer ſubſiſt. It is aſſured, that they yield every year a neat produce of an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

They afford a very extraordinary inſtance of the power of cuſtom. Thoſe who work in them are ſure, on account of the malignant vapours which they exhale, not to live to above the age of forty, and moſt frequently not to reach even that; and, at the ſame time it is known, that all around them, it is common for people to live to ſeventy: yet, accuſtomed from their infancy to this deſtructive labour, the

miners are as merry in digging the ſilver out of the bowels of the earth, as the workmen of Meiſſen are in fabricating their fine porcelaine. I ought not however to omit obſerving to you, my Lord, that policy has been called in to the aid of cuſtom. They who work in the mines enjoy great honours and privileges: they are at Freyberg, like the canons at Cologne and Mentz.

Another particular concerning thoſe mines is, that the hurricanes, which, from time to time, deſolate Saxony, are all formed in them; or at leaſt proceed from the mountains of Freyberg, ſituated, to continue to expreſs myſelf in ſea terms, South-weſt of Dreſden, and South-eaſt of Leipzig. This laſt city is ſeated in a fine plain, and ſurrounded with gardens after the manner of the Dutch. I paid a viſit there to M. Maſcow, a gentleman eminently learned in the law of nations, which is the prevailing ſcience in Germany, and highly renowned, in particular, for his knowlege of every thing that concerns the balance between the Emperor and the Electors: he is likewiſe extremely polite and affable, and has his Horace at his finger ends, like an Engliſhman. At the houſe of another of the Literati of Leipzig, I ſaw a cabinet of ſhells, in which the ſcarceſt curioſities of that

kind are treaſured up. There are the Admiral, the Nautilus, the Muſic-paper, Neptune's night-cap, and I know not what other admirably beautiful ſhell, ſaid to be worth upwards of fifty guineas, and valued equally with the Otho and the oriental ſcale.

From Leipzig we went to Potſdam, the military noviciate of Pruſſia. It is the garriſon of that ſuperb regiment, which, for the comelineſs and ſtature of the ſoldiers, may be called the flower of the human race. It is compoſed of, including the ſupernumeraries, four thouſand giants, of all religions and all countries. Yet there is not among them either ſchiſm or controverſy. Means have been found to turn their attention ſolely to evolutions and other military exerciſes, and to make all their pretenſions center in excelling therein. To ſee a ſingle ſoldier perform his exerciſe, through a multiplying glaſs, and to ſee this regiment perform it, is preciſely the ſame thing, for regularity and juſtneſs of time. Many even think, that in the handling of their arms, they are ſubject to minuteneſſes, which, though they have a fine effect upon the parade, are very uſeleſs in a day of battle.

The Prince of Anhalt, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo greatly in the battle of Turin, is the inſtitutor of this rigorous diſcipline. However,

this regiment of giants is always under the eye of their maſter; it is he who is properly their commander: he even takes that title, having done us the honour to tell us, that we ſhould dine, not at the table of a King, but at that of a Colonel. It muſt be allowed, that he acquits himſelf of the functions of one with the greateſt exactneſs. His regiment is the principal object of his thoughts, and for it alone he gives into profuſion. As formerly in England ſeveral guineas were not minded for half an inch of margin more than uſual, in an edition or in a print, ſo here, ten or even twenty thouſand dahlers are not ſcrupled for a hand or two more that a man has above the common ſize. The fineſt *in folio*, in Potſdam, is one Keatland, ſeven feet and an half high, imprinted at Dublin in 1716.

In a word, this regiment is the King's delight: every morning, whatever the weather be, he goes to ſee it mount guard, and ſeems always to behold it for the firſt time. It is then that he gives audience, and admits foreigners to his preſence. Accordingly it has been ſaid of him, that the earth is the floor of his anti-chamber, and the ſky its ceiling. In ſome countries the breed of dogs is leſſened by people who deal in them; here, to have ſoldiers, the breed of men

is enlarged. To this end, the talleſt women that can be found are ſought for throughout the kingdom, to match them with the giants at Potſdam; and in the marriages of their children, the proportion of ſizes is obſerved, as much as poſſible. If a girl is a hand higher than common, the King pays her portion.

Beſides his ſuberb regiment of guards, this Prince keeps upwards of ſeventy thouſand men, who, without being ſo tall, are all caſt in the ſame mould, and form the moſt brilliant troops that it is poſſible to ſee. The arſenals of Stetin, Magdebourg, and Weſel, his moſt important places, are, as well as that of Berlin, in the beſt condition, and furniſhed with a numerous artillery. The horſes deſtined for military ſervice are trained to it long beforehand, and diſtributed in the ſeveral provinces, where they do not remain idle; and where they are kept always ready to change the works of Ceres for thoſe of Mars. In ſhort, the King of Pruſſia can bring upon his frontiers an army of fifty thouſand men, with all neceſſaries, in much leſs time than is requiſite for one of our Italian undertakers to bring out an opera.

This monarch has introduced into his dominions a reform, ſimilar to that which an abbot, who ſhould lead his monks back from the eaſe

and indolence of great towns into the country, there to divide their time between prayer and huſbandry, would eſtabliſh in his order. Under his father Frederic, Berlin was given up to ſhew and magnificence; in lieu of which he has ſubſtituted the manners of the Lacedemonians. With a pen of iron, he has ſuppreſſed the uſeleſs officers of the court, and their ſalaries; convinced that luxury cannot but be pernicious in a country poor of money, and little rich in induſtry: and knowing alſo, that, without numerous troops, well diſciplined, and paid out of his own revenues, a Prince never is ſufficiently reſpected at home, and courted abroad.

Though the department of war is his principal occupation, and all that ſurrounds him is military, his cares do not the leſs extend to the other parts of government. His finances are regulated with the moſt perfect oeconomy. People talk every-where of his treaſure; a ſtagnant humour in the body politic according to the merchant, and the life of the ſtate in the opinion of the troops, who ſee nothing comparable to a military cheſt. At Berlin, a vaſt apartment, adjoining to the Royal treaſury, is full of tables, chairs, branches, candleſticks, lamps, and baluſtrades of ſilver; every thing there is of that

metal, as formerly in the palaces of the Kings of Mexico.

He has re-peopled the territories which he poſſeſſes in Pruſſia and Lithuania, heretofore ravaged by the plague, by ſending thither colonies purchaſed in the Catholic countries of Germany, where the proteſtants have not the free exerciſe of their religion. He has likewiſe eſtabliſhed breeds of horſes, which are now in high repute. Potſdam owes to him almoſt the whole of its exiſtence. Among other things, he has built there a church for his ſoldiers, in which is his intended tomb, ſupported, on the right hand and on the left, by Mars and Bellona, who had not for a long time before made their appearance in any of our temples.

He has likewiſe increaſed Berlin by more than half; and the new ſuburb, or rather the new city which he has added to it, is called, from the name of its founder, Williemſtat. It is true, that the houſes in it are neither ſo dear, nor ſo well tenanted, as thoſe in your Hanover-ſquare; but, ſays he, I have built neſts, and ſooner or later the birds will come to them. It is great pity that this Prince had not in his ſervice a *Palladio*. The Czar Peter was not more fortunate; and, in the country of the fine arts,

the late King of Sardinia, who built ſo much at Turin, found for architect only a *Giovara*.

Agriculture is not the laſt of his cares. In the ſame manner as the Czar ſent young gentlemen into foreign countries, to learn their politeneſs or maritime affairs; the King of Pruſſia ſends them into the country, there to ſtudy plowing, and the manner of cultivating land. Accordingly this art, the moſt important of all, encouraged and honoured by the Sovereign, makes here conſiderable progreſs. Beſides that agriculture furniſhes bread to the ſoldiery, as this Prince poſſeſſes in various parts of his dominions, which are very extenſive, many lands and demeſnes under the title of gentleman, he has a particular intereſt in their being improved.

You know, my Lord, that the Proteſtants, driven from France, carried to Berlin their manufacturers and arts. That of working in ſteel is highly perfected there; and the cloths which are made in that city, eſpecially the blue ones, are extremely beautiful. This manufacture is particularly protected by the King. After the example of your illuſtrious Elizabeth, he has prohibited, under very ſevere penalties, the exportation of wool of the produce of the country: he has moreover eſtabliſhed a great magazine of wool, where the poor work-people, who are

not able to buy any, may take what they want, paying for it afterwards in works for the King's account. Before he gave ſhelter to King Staniſlaus, at Konigſberg, he furniſhed, in a great meaſure, Ruſſia with cloths: but, ſince that, this trade has fallen into the hands of your countrymen.

What ſhall I ſay to you, my Lord, of the Prince Royal, the lover and the favourite of the Muſes? Several days which we paſſed with him, in his caſtle of Reinſberg, ſeemed to me but a few hours. He is the moſt intelligent and moſt amiable of men. Though I could notice only his private virtues, I can boldly aſſure you, my Lord, that the world will one day admire his royal qualifications; and that when he ſhall be upon the throne, he will ſhew himſelf to be the greateſt of Sovereigns. There is all the reaſon in the world to believe that he will ſeek out for great men, with as much eagerneſs as his father does for giants.

From Reinſberg, which is not far from Ferberlin, where that famous battle between the great Elector and the Swedes was fought, we repaired to Hamburg. The whole of this country is a ſandy ſoil, like that which we paſſed over in going from Dantzick. Hamburgh, which, in its firſt origin, was only a fort raiſed by Char-

lemagne againſt the barbarians of the North, has ſucceeded to the trade of Augſburg, and now cuts in Germany the brilliant figure which that city did formerly there: I mean, that it is a place of depoſit for the Indian and oriental merchandizes, which the Engliſh and Dutch now bring into Europe, inſtead of the Venetians.

But what am I thinking of, my Lord, to pretend to talk to you about Hamburg, where there are ſo many of your countrymen, and which, conſidering the preſent ſtate of navigation, is, one may ſay, but a few miles from London! Should I tell you, that this city is very populous, that it has a man of war, above three hundred merchant ſhips, that is carries on a great part of the whale fiſhery, that its trade with Spain and Portugal is conſiderable, and in fine, that the linnens of Sileſia, of which ſuch vaſt quantities are ſold in America, are one of its ſtaple commodities? No; I muſt content myſelf with ſaying, that we have waited for ſome days paſt the arrival of our frigate, which, by Lord Baltimore's order, is ſailing round Denmark, to come and take us up here. I will only add, that I am extremely impatient to be on board; and that I fervently invoke that bluſtering Eaſt wind, ſo much an enemy to your

countrymen, to blow ſoon, and waft me ſpeedily to your Lordſhip at St. James's. I believe, my Lord, that I do not preſume too much upon your friendſhip for me, in flattering myſelf, that, in your fine Park, *paſcitur in noſtrum reditum votiva juvenca.*

LETTER VIII.

To the Marquis SCIPIO MAFFEI, *at* Verona.

Berlin, Auguſt 27th, 1750.

THE trade of the Engliſh to Perſia by the way of Ruſſia, which has been ſo much talked of in the commercial and the political world, was in its firſt infancy at the time of my being at Peterſburg; ſo that, were it not for an Engliſhman, who was one of the principal agents in that trade, and who has been ſo kind as to give me all the informations that could be wiſhed for concerning it, during a fortnight that he has been here, I ſhould not be able to tell you any thing more of its beginnings, than what I might chance to recollect having heard at that time. But now, thanks to the circumſtantial informations I have been favoured with, I am enabled to give you a pretty complete hiſtory of it. This facility of converſing with the moſt diſtinguiſhed travellers, is not one of the leaſt

advantages which attach me to Berlin. All thoſe who do not make ruins the only object of their reſearches, and whoſe enlightened minds require a more ſolid food, are attracted hither by rarities of a very different kind from thoſe of Italy; and above all, by the curioſity of ſeeing upon the throne, not a man King, but a King man.

As ſoon as the Engliſh had diſcovered the port of Archangel, under the reign of the famous Iwan Baſilowitz, and cemented a trade with Ruſſia, they caſt their eyes upon the Caſpian ſea. This ſea being ſituated between that empire and Perſian, by its means, and principally with the help of the Wolga, which, after winding through a very great part of Ruſſia, falls into it below Aſtracan, they immediately formed the deſign of opening to themſelves a road into Perſia, much eaſier and ſhorter than that of the Portugueſe, then maſters of the Indies, obliged to go round Africa and a part of Aſia, to arrive at Ormus in the Perſian gulph.

They were by ſo much the more encouraged thereto, as the Northern part of Perſian, which is bathed by the Caſpian ſea, is of far greater advantage, for trade, than the Southern. The ſilks of the provinces of Shirvan, Manzeradan, and principally thoſe of Ghilan, are the beſt and moſt eſteemed of the Eaſt; and the Engliſh

would have been glad to have the weaving of them in their iſland, in the ſame manner as they have eſtabliſhed with their wool, which they uſed formerly to ſend to Flanders, thoſe manufactures of cloth which have ſince thriven ſo well. Various attempts were the conſequence of this ſcheme, and their ſucceſs was ſuch, that the Preſident Thuanus thought them worthy of notice in his hiſtory: but in thoſe times, the new conqueſts made by the Ruſſians on the South ſide of their empire, were not ſufficiently ſecured, nor was the trade of the Engliſh firmly enough eſtabliſhed to afford a reaſonable proſpect of their being able to accompliſh ſo vaſt and complicate an undertaking.

Theſe difficulties however did not diſmay a Duke of Holſtein, ſome years after. He had ſet up manufactures of ſilk in his dominions, and thought to get that material directly from Perſia, by the channel of Ruſſia. To this end, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the Sophi, of the number of which was, as you know, the famous Olearius; but all that reſulted from it was, a ſhipwreck upon the Caſpian, and a very good account of the Weſtern coaſt of that ſea: juſt as an account of the Hottentots was the only fruit of one Kroſick of Berlin's ſending an aſtronomer to the Cape of Good Hope, to have the parallax of the moon;

an undertaking which, however well executed, as it has juſt been, is truly worthy of a King.

The French, who began to be ſenſible of the importance of trade, the ſource of circulation to a ſtate, and who already purſued it with ardour, had alſo thoughts of procuring themſelves ſilks by this ſame channel of Ruſſia; eſpecially when, towards the latter end of the reign of Lewis XIV, there was a Perſian Ambaſſador at Paris: but various conſiderations prevented their dwelling upon it.

At length the patient and bold genius of the Engliſh ſeemed lately, during ſome years, to have accompliſhed this great ſcheme, which owed its firſt origin to them. One Elton, of a fiery imagination, enterprizing and ambitious to exceſs, at the ſame time ſeaman, warrior and merchant, revived it when it was thought to be abſolutely given over; and after having removed the obſtacles which oppoſed its execution, and began to reap its fruits, he was himſelf the principal cauſe of the ruin of the edifice he had juſt raiſed, ſo that it dropped at once, without leaving any hope of its being ever erected again.

Having ſerved in Ruſſia, and travelled in that vaſt empire, he ſaw with how little expence goods might be carried there, and be conveyed by the Wolga into the Caſpian ſea; the advantage it

would be of to his nation to find in Perſia a new vent for her woollen manufactures, which are in infinitely leſs requeſt in the Levant, than thoſe of France; and the great profits ſhe would make by taking in return raw ſilks, bought at firſt hand, from the peaſants themſelves at Ghilan, whilſt at Symrna and Aleppo they muſt be purchaſed from the Armenians, maſters of the inland trade of Aſia, who carry them to thoſe cities, by means of their caravans: in ſhort, he ſaw, that the circumſtances of things could not be more favourable for eſtabliſhing this trade.

Nadir-Schah, known among us by the name of Kouli Kan, a prince who was at the ſame time a great warriour and a great promoter of trade, kept a ſtanding army of above two hundred thouſand men, and had juſt transferred the ſeat of the Perſian empire to Meſched, the capital of Koraſſan, diſtant but a few days journey from Aſtrabat, a town ſituated upon the Caſpian: ſo that it was by this means eaſy to ſupply him at firſt hand with the woollens neceſſary for clothing his troops, which he was obliged to buy, at ſecond hand, from the Armenians who purchaſe them in the Levant; beſides the hope of vending by ſo much the more conſiderable a quantity of them, as they might be carried to Kieva and Bokara among the Uſbeck Tartars, ſituated

on the Eaſt of the Caſpian, and to the North of the Mogul's dominions, from whence would be received in exchange gold, lapis-lazuli, and other precious commodities which do not reach Europe till after long circuits in the Indies, and immenſe charges which render them extremely dear.

To ſecure the advantages of this trade, and render it as lucrative as poſſible, Elton judged it neceſſary to have upon the Caſpian ſea, at leaſt a couple of ſhips, which were to be built upon the Wolga at Caſan; that thus the Engliſh might navigate that ſea at their pleaſure, making Meſched the centre of their trade, and Aſtrabat their ſtore-houſe.

Having propoſed this plan to the Engliſh factory at Peterſburg, he was ſent by them with a ſmall cargo to Perſia, by way of trial; and, on returning from thence with an ample and favourable privilege granted by Riza-Kouli-Mirza, Regent of the kingdom, in the abſence of Nadir, then upon his expedition againſt the Mogul, his ſcheme began to bid fair. It was even warmly approved of by the Ruſſia company in England, to whom the factory of Peterſburg communicated it: ſo that after ſome thwarting from the Turky and Eaſt-India companies, who ſaw, with an evil eye, that of Ruſſia ſet foot in their ter-

ritory, the Caſpian trade received the ſolemn ſanction of the Parliament of England.

In Ruſſia it met with no oppoſition: beſides the ties of reciprocal intereſt which unite the two nations, no ſmall advantages aroſe from it to Ruſſia, principally by the benefit of carrying the Perſian and Engliſh merchandize, of which ſhe at the ſame time deprived the Turk. The hope of the Ruſſia company ſeemed then to be well founded. They ſent over a great many goods that were commiſſioned, and appointed Elton agent of the new trade. Active beyond conception, he was ready to ſail from Caſan in the ſpring of 1742, on board an excellent ſhip, with a rich cargo. In a few days after he arrived at Aſtracan, from whence he put out to ſea, and the Caſpian beheld, for the firſt time, that flag which has ſubdued the ocean.

The venture did not, however, ſucceed ſo well as had been expected: ſcarcely a third part of the Perſian army wear cloth; and the road from Aſtrabat to Meſched is infeſted by the Turcomans, a ſavage people who live, thereabouts, in a deſart, which the want of water renders inacceſſible. It was likewiſe found, that hardly any uſe is made of European goods at Kieva and Bokara; not to ſpeak of the riſks that are continually run in Aſiatic Ruſſia, where the Tartars

and Calmucks are not leſs addicted to robbery, than the Arabs in the South of Aſia. The miſerable condition to which Perſia was reduced by her inteſtine broils, offered not leſs difficulties for Elton to overcome. Long and cruel wars had exhauſted her of men and money; and Nadir, in whoſe power it was to reſtore her, and give her new life, by making the immenſe treaſure he had brought from India circulate amongſt her people, had juſt buried that wealth in the fortreſs of Kelat, and maintained his army by dint of taxes and oppreſſion.

The new trade made however ſome progreſs; and had it been conducted by induſtrious and moderate men, conſiderable profits might ſtill have been hoped for from it. But the cauſes which would at laſt neceſſarily have brought on its ruin, fermented ſecretly, and even began to ſhew themſelves. The Armenians, tranſplanted formerly from their own country by Schah Abbas, and reduced to live by trading, conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the rivals they met with in the Caſpian, and backed by the Ruſſian merchants, who carry leather and other commodities from Caſan to Perſia, they plotted the ruin of the Engliſh. Without any other events to haſten it, theſe laſt would infallibly have experienced how difficult it is to ſtrive againſt a cunning nation,

long eſtabliſhed in a country, accuſtomed to the ſervile uſages of the Eaſt, aiming at only one point, and, to ſay all, the impoſſibility that a trade formed in the very heart of the dominions of a foreign Prince, can ſupport itſelf for any conſiderable time.

But what haſtened the ruin of this, was Schah Nadir's marching his army into the provinces of the Caſpian. During the three years which he employed in conquering the Indies, the Tartars of Kieva and Bokara had made ſeveral incurſions into the Koraſſan, as well as the Laſghi into Schirvan; and theſe robbers had carried off from thence a great number of families into ſlavery. Nadir, returning victorious from his expedition, eaſily ſubdued the Tartars of Kieva and Bokara, who inhabit a level and open country; but was not ſo with the Laſghi, ſurrounded on all ſides with inacceſſible mountains, inured to fatigue, exceſſively jealous of their liberty, all ſoldiers, in a word the Swiſs of Aſia.

The Perſians have made, at different times, various efforts to ſubdue them; but all in vain: inſomuch that it is become a proverbial ſaying among them, that whenever they have a mad-man for King, he will ſet about ſubduing the Laſghi. Nadir, ſo prudent till then, emboldened by his

victories, dared to march againſt them, and met the fate of his predeceſſors.

The fame of his exploits induced at firſt a few tribes, ſituated on the Southern frontier, to ſend him hoſtages and ſubmit at diſcretion. According to the Eaſtern cuſtom, he tranſplanted the greateſt part of them into the province of Koraſſan. He ſhould have been content with that; like Caeſar, who, after he had paſſed the Rhine, remained ſatisfied with having ſpread terror among the Germans, and by no means thought of going to provoke them in the depths of their foreſts. Nadir, on the contrary, elated by his firſt ſucceſſes, penetrated into the country, ſeized upon an important paſs, and plunged into the midſt of the rocks and precipices of Daghiſton. In that ſituation, the conqueror of the Indies was on the point of being ſurrounded and attacked on all ſides, by thoſe mountaineers, acquainted with their ſmalleſt tracks: the military ſkill of the rival of Seſoſtris and Alexander, from ſubduing them, could hardly ſave him from their hands, and carry him to Derbent, to endeavour there to get victuals for his famiſhed army.

He then perceived the advantage of tranſporting things by ſea, declared Derbent a free port, and invited the Ruſſians to bring thither corn

and meal. The proſpect of gain determined them; and though the government, alarmed at the neighbourhood of ſo conſiderable an army, had prohibited all exportation; they victualled it, and extricated Nadir from the worſt ſituation he had ever been in.

Elton's ſhip, which had arrived in Ghilan during theſe tranſactions, was chartered to carry rice to Derbent. Being arrived there with his cargo, he repaired to the Perſian camp, where Nadir aſked him many queſtions concerning navigation and commerce, to which he anſwered with an Engliſh brevity. Nadir, perfectly ſatisfied in regard to all he aſked, careſſed him much: that Prince, who conſtantly meditated great enterprizes, judging him proper to aſſiſt the execution of his views, promiſed him mountains of gold; and it was not difficult for ſo great a ſovereign to retain in his ſervice a man fond of novelty, and tormented with ambition.

The firſt commiſſion he gave him, was to erect a fort in the middle of the province of Balcke, to awe the Turcomans, who, not content with exerciſing their robberies from Meſched to Aſtrabat, infeſted alſo by their piracies the ſea before this laſt town, and the Southern coaſts of the Caſpian.

In the mean time, Nadir conſidered the means

of having a fleet; Ghilan, with its woods and cotton, and Manzanderan with its iron, offered him the principal materials for that purpoſe. He intruſted this department to Elton; and ſuch was the activity of this laſt, that, notwithſtanding the ignorance and aukwardneſs of the Perſians in every thing that relates to maritime affairs, in a very ſhort time he had built and completely fitted out a frigate of twenty guns. He immediately ranged thoſe ſeas as ſovereign, exacting the compliment of ſubmiſſion from all the Ruſſian ſhips he met with, which, till then, had feared nothing there but the winds and waves: in ſhort, if death had not carried off Nadir while theſe things were tranſacting, that Prince would probably have become, by means of his Engliſh miniſter, the maritime power of the Caſpian, as Peter the Great was ſome years before.

It may eaſily be imagined, that a novelty like this could not but excite many rumours at the court of Peterſburg, and Elton's being immediately recalled was the firſt thing inſiſted on. The Ruſſia company, who could employ in his favour only the channel of negociation, offered him a conſiderable ſum, if he would leave Perſia, and moreover engaged to procure him employment in the Engliſh navy, or to obtain for him the chief command of an expedition intended to be

ſent for the diſcovery of a paſſage into the South ſea, by the North-weſt of America. But whether it was not in his power to quit Nadir's ſervice, or whether he had really taken a liking to it, no thing could prevail on him to return to England.

The company were therefore obliged to ſell the ſhips they had built at Caſan; and a thundering decree, by which the Empreſs of Ruſſia forbade them, in 1746, all trade in the Caſpian, entirely demoliſhed their laſt hopes. From that time, the Engliſh thought only of bringing from Peterſburg the parcels of ſilk they had ſtill remaining in Ghilan; but even in this they could not ſucceed. The death of Nadir, which happened the year after, and the civil wars which inſtantly thereupon threw Perſia into confuſion, diſſipated the company's effects: as in a ſtorm, a little boat is ſoon ſwallowed up by the waves. Elton, who had made himſelf a pretty conſiderable party, and who hoped to maintain his dominion over the Baltic, ſurvived Nadir but a ſhort time, and periſhed after having given the greateſt proofs of valour.

The Engliſhman to whom I owe theſe particulars, and who, having himſelf acted a great part in this undertaking, is perfectly well acquainted with its moſt minute details, intends, if I may believe him, to publiſh the hiſtory of

them, and to add thereto, an account of Perſia, where he lived ſometime, together with a natural hiſtory of the Caſpian. So that it may be ſaid, if the knowlege of the true ſituation of that ſea is owing to the conqueſts of the Ruſſians; it is to the trade of the Engliſh that we are indebted for an exact deſcription of its coaſts.

LETTER X.

To the ſame.

Berlin, February 4th, 1751.

YOU are in the right, Sir; Virgil's *ſic vos non vobis* may properly be applied to the Engliſh, for all the pains they took to open the trade of the Caſpian. Ruſſia gathers the fruit of the tree they planted, and they are now reſtricted to the privilege of buying, at ſecond-hand, at Peterſburg, the raw ſilks of Perſia. Thus the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, and others bathed by the Caſpian, are now of more ſervice to Ruſſia, than when they were under her dominion.

Beſides that Auguſtus's famous law *de Coercendo Imperio*, is ſtrictly applicable to Ruſſia, and that ſhe never will depart from it with impunity; it is impoſſible to ſay how much thoſe foreign provinces coſt her, during the ſhort time that ſhe poſſeſſed them. Peter the Great ſeized upon them, in the beginning of the troubles of Perſia, as well in hopes of drawing into his do-

minions, by their means, a part of the rich trade of Aſia; as through fear of the Turks finding means to ſettle in them, and thereby to bar him likewiſe on the ſide of Aſtracan.

They at firſt brought in to the Ruſſians ſix hundred thouſand rubels a year, excluſive of the keeping of the garriſons, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand dragoons, and four thouſand Coſſacks; but the continual deſertion of the peaſants, who fled from a foreign yoke, made the culture of ſilk, cotton, and rice, diminiſh every year, and with them the revenues of the Prince. On another hand, the heat of the climate, the dampneſs of the ſoil, the bad quality of the fruits, and the malignity of the air, occaſioned by the high mountains which ſurround thoſe provinces, obſtruct its action, and ſtop the winds, carried off every year an aſtoniſhing number of Ruſſians; inſomuch that, in fourteen years which they kept them, an hundred and thirty thouſand of that nation are reckoned to have periſhed there. They were to them what the fortreſs of Orſova, ſituated at the bottom of the Danube, if I may be allowed that expreſſion, was to the Imperialiſts.

The Ruſſians retained them till 1736, tho' they had agreed to give them up ſome years before. During this interval, they continued their

garriſons in them in the name of Perſia; and they did not evacuate them till after Kouli Kan had concluded peace with the Turks. As to the reſt, this reſtitution procured them great advantages; ſuch as an exemption from all duties, as well on what they carry into the ports of the Caſpian, as on what they export from thence, and the privilege of ſelling their various commodities at Hiſpahan, with the ſame immunities as the Armenians enjoy at Zulpha. Since that treaty, a Ruſſian conſul, who is allowed to have a guard of ſoldiers of his own nation, reſides at Reſhed, the capital of Ghilan.

With theſe ſeveral advantages, and the ports ſhe has in the Caſpian, you ſee, Sir, that Ruſſia muſt hereafter become poſſeſſed of all the trade of Perſia. The Engliſh will have taught her to navigate that ſea, and the ſeveral dangers which they ran will turn to her advantage. We may really believe that they will publiſh every particular which they obſerved in it. The famous account of Admiral Anſon's voyage round the world, proves ſufficiently how little they are myſterious in regard to diſcoveries, which any other nation would keep religiouſly locked up among the ſecrets of the cabinet.

I myſelf am now ſufficiently acquainted with what concerns the Caſpian, for a perſon who

does not intend to navigate there; and I think I can tell you enough of it to ſatisfy your curioſity, and enable you to wait, without impatience, till more ample details of that ſea appear.

Ptolomy placed its direction length-ways from Weſt to Eaſt, though, in fact, it is from South to North; and moreover he made it three times larger than it really is. Abulfeda, an Arabian Prince, Sovereign of Hama in Syria, gave, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, a much leſs faulty deſcription of it, even for what concerns the latitude of its Southern coaſts. His obſervations have been greatly improved on by Olearius, who, in his account of his travels, firſt made known its ſize and ſhape. Voſſius and Cellarius did not the leſs write againſt him; chooſing rather to believe what Ptolomy relates, upon the faith of we know not whom, than a learned man who declared what he himſelf had ſeen and verified. At length the Czar Peter, availing himſelf of his conqueſts upon the Caſpian, cauſed a chart of it to be drawn; and, in 1721, ſent it to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, of which he was a member: a preſent worthy of an Academician King.

Then only there was an exact plan of the Eaſtern coaſt of that ſea, which not having any ports, and being poſſeſſed by the Tartars, had

always been inacceſſible to travellers: but it is yet much better known by Nadir's expedition into Balkan, againſt the ſame Tartars.

This ſea is mediterranean, and without any external communication with other ſeas; contrary to the opinion of the antients, who, excepting however Herodotus and Ptolomy, thought it a gulph of the main ocean. Has it not perhaps a ſubterraneous one with the gulph of Perſia or the Black-ſea? To decide this queſtion, it would be neceſſary to anatomize the globe.

It has no tides, nor can it have any; being a narrow diſconnected ſea. Its waters are ſalt, and ſo deep, that, at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, no bottom is to be found. As to the reſt, one does not now find in it either thoſe ſea monſters, which formerly rendered it ſo famous, or thoſe rocks which inſpired ſo much horror.

From May to September, it is a pleaſure to ſail there upon it. The months of June, July, and Auguſt, are the beſt ports of the Caſpian, as the illuſtrious Spinola ſaid of our Mediterranean. The Weſt winds are moſt prevalent on this ſea. That of the Eaſt is moderate there, and produces agreeable weather even in the midſt of winter. As to thoſe of the North and South, which ſweep its whole length, they blow with

ſuch impetuoſity, that, driving the waters before them, they heap them up to the height of three or four feet, and ſometimes much more. When they abate, the waters return to their level with a violent agitation, and a furious current; which is yet more irregular and more dangerous on the coaſt of Ruſſia than elſewhere, on account of the reſiſtance formed by the rivers Gamba, Yaiek, and Wolga, which fall into it. Theſe two are almoſt the only riſks that are run upon this ſea, eſpecially if one adds to them the ignorance of thoſe who navigate it. The Ruſſians of this part are ſtill novices in the art of working ſhips; and you know, Sir, that the Perſians never were great ſeamen.

The Caſpian does not abound in ports. On its Northern ſide there is not one, if we except Aſtracan, and that is twenty leagues up the Wolga. The Eaſtern ſhore is ſkirted with ſand-banks, and armed with rocks, which prevent all approach. There is, however, on that ſide, a ſmall gulph, called the Bay of Alexander, whoſe name is as common in the Eaſt, as that of Caeſar in France; and Balkan, the reſort of the Turcoman pirates. Upon a point of the Southern coaſt, Aſtrabat preſents a kind of port at the mouth of the river Korgan. In the province of Manzanderan, ſhips can anchor at Alemmarood,

and at Farabad. Langarood and Enzellea, in that of Ghilan, are tolerably good roads.

In the province of Schirvan, upon the Western coaſt, Bakou, which name the Turks give alſo to this ſea, is the beſt, not to ſay the only port. Equally ſheltered from winds and waves, ſhips require neither anchors nor moorings to be in ſafety there. A very great trade in the raw ſilks of Ghilan was formerly carried on at Bakou; and it is ſtill famous for the quantities of rock-ſalt, ſulphur, and ſaffron, which are ſhipped there. Nieazabad has a pretty good road.

Derbent, the Iron port, or the Caſpian port, touches the mountains of Dagheſtan. This town, founded, as is ſaid, by Alexander, was taken in the beginning of the troubles of Perſia, by the Czar, who decreed himſelf the honours of a triumph for this conqueſt. In 1742, Nadir declared it a free port, and it will never be any thing but a very bad one, *ſtatio maleſida carinis*. The reſt of the coaſt from Derbent to Aſtrabat is low and flat. The greateſt part of it ſwampy, and, during half of the year, the air is thick and foggy.

The Caſpian extends from the thirty-ſeventh to the forty-ſeventh degree of latitude; that is to ſay, it is about the length of the Adriatic. Its

breadth is about two hundred miles in the wideſt part, and at Bakou, where it is narroweſt, it is not above one hundred over. The high mountains which command it on the Weſt-ſide and on the South, ſerve for ſignals to ſailors. The Demoan, rival of mount Ararat, upon which the Perſians pretend that Noah's Ark reſted after the deluge, is the higheſt of them all. Ararat itſelf is ſeen from the Caſpian when the air is perfectly clear. * Not far from Bakou riſes a very extraordinary mountain; from the quantity of the talc which covers it, one would take it for a mountain of diamonds, when the ſun ſhines upon it.

But I think, Sir, it is time to finiſh our voyage, and land ſomewhere.

* Mount Ararat is about ſeventy leagues from the Caſpian.

LETTER XI.

To the ſame.

Potſdam, February 19th, 1751.

I Forgot in my laſt letter to mention to you a particular concerning the Caſpian, which deſerves the greateſt attention. It is a phaenomenon which I ought the leſs to omit obſerving to you, as it affords a freſh proof of the truth of the ſpeculations of that Manfredi, who was ſo great an ornament to his country, whoſe death we both have ſo ſincerely lamented, and whoſe memory is ſtill ſo dear to us: I mean to ſpeak of the continual elevation of the level of that ſea.

You remember, Sir, that Manfredi having been called to Ravenna, for ſome affairs concerning the waters there, perceived, in taking his levels, that the ground floors of the antient buildings of that city were lower than the ſurface of the ſea; and that, among others, it was a foot higher than the pavement of the dome, a

monument as old as the time of Theodoſius. Such a phaenomenon ſeems at firſt ſo ſtrange, that one can hardly believe it, even after the moſt exact obſervations. They are however, ſo numerous, and ſo well authenticated, that their evidence is irreſiſtable.

At Venice, the vault under the church of St. Mark is no longer of any ſervice, on account of the waters which have reached into it; and when the tides are a little high, the Laguna over-flows the place of St. Mark, though it is not long ſince it was raiſed a foot: which is a manifeſt proof that the level of the ſea riſes inceſſantly. Anaxagoras was then right in anſwering the perſon who aſked him, whether he thought the ſea would one day cover the mountains of Lampſacus, that he made no doubt of it, provided time did not fail. So Polybius, that profound genius, conſidering the banks which the ſands brought down by the Danube, and other rivers, form in the Euxine ſea, foretold, that, in the courſe of ages, that ſea would overflow its banks, and, ſpreading over the lands which now confine it within its bed, be no longer navigable: for which one of thoſe learned commentators, who ſee no farther than their noſes, has not ſcrupled to cenſure him; becauſe an event, which re-

quires perhaps forty thouſand years to take place, has not happened in the courſe of two thouſand.

Manfredi tried to calculate the time that the fulfilling of Polybius's prediction will require. Suppoſing the ſand which the rivers bring down, to be to the bulk of their waters in the proportion of 1 to 174, which has been obſerved at Bologna of the Reno, a river which, without being limpid, cannot be inſtanced as a muddy one; and eſtimating afterwards, with the greateſt exactneſs poſſible, the quantity of water, as well of rain as of ſprings, which the ſea receives annually, he found that in 348 years it muſt riſe half a foot Paris meaſure. *

Hartſoeker, chiefly famous for the diſcovery of the ſpermaceti worms, found alſo in thoſe dikes which are the ramparts of Holland againſt the impetuoſity of the waves of the ocean, manifeſt ſigns of the elevation of the level of the ſea; but he does not make its progreſs ſo ſlow as Manfredi: for, ſuppoſing a ninety-ninth part of ſand in the waters which the rivers carry into the ſea, he reckons that, in conſequence thereof, the ſurface of the ſea muſt riſe a foot in the courſe of a century. If one conſiders the changes which have

* The Paris foot is to the Engliſh, as 12 $\frac{1068}{1000}$ to 12.

happened at Venice within two hundred years, it muſt be allowed that the Dutch naturaliſt is nearer the mark than Manfredi, who, not to ſhock the common opinion of his countrymen too violently, did not dare to ſet forth the fact in its true light, for fear of ſeeing his conjecture immediately ranked in the claſs of paradoxes.

But in fact, an anſwerable confirmation of the truth of what Manfredi obſerved in our Adriatic, is, as I told you in the beginning of my letter, what has been likewiſe remarked in the Caſpian. The level of that vaſt Lake riſes every day, by the quantity of ſand and ſlime carried thither by the great rivers which fall into it. It has juſt been obſerved, that there are now twelve feet of water in a certain place, near Aſtracan, where there were but ſix in 1722. The obſervations of the Perſians agree with thoſe of the Ruſſians. At Langarood, the ſea has gained ſo much ſince the beginning of this century, that ſeveral huts, built then upon its borders, are now entirely covered by it; and the Bay of Aſtrabat, which formerly was fordable, is now ten feet deep. The ſame thing is noticed of a ſtreight between Deveriſh and Naphtonia, in the gulph of Balkan; and at Derbent, a key, on which goods were landed not very long ago, is now quite overflowed.

It is not to be wondered at, that the level of the Caſpian riſes faſter than that of our ſeas. Beſides that it has no out-let into any other, and that it is not of very great extent, the quality of the rivers which fall into it muſt be conſidered. It is true that the Oxus, by which the products of the Northern Indies were formerly carried into the Caſpian, from whence they paſſed into Europe by the Cyrus, having been turned another way by the Tartars, and loſing itſelf in the ſands, no longer flows into it: but it ſtill receives the Kur, the Sambur, the Jamba, the Yaeik, and finally, after a courſe of ſeven hundred leagues, in which two hundred rivers, if I miſtake not, pay homage to it, the Wolga, one of the moſt conſiderable rivers in all Aſia, far ſuperior to the Danube, which is the largeſt in Europe; and which figures in our maps of the world with the Nile, the river of the Amazons, and that of la Plata.

LETTER XII.

To the ſame.

Potſdam, Auguſt 24th, 1751.

I AM highly pleaſed, Sir, to find that my laſt letter has merited your approbation. Vitaliano Donati's obſervations along the coaſt of Dalmatia, which you quote, in confirmation of what Manfredi found at Ravenna, are not unknown to me; Monſieur de Maupertuis, to whom they are dedicated, having been ſo kind as to communicate them to me. At Liſſa, at Diclo, at Zara, and in ſeveral other places, the level of the ſea is higher than the ground-floor of the antient buildings, which, in order to have the neceſſary drains, and not be unwholeſome to live in, were undoubtedly built much higher than it. Now as they are built upon ſolid rocks, it is not poſſible to ſuppoſe they have ſunk the leaſt in the world.

Zendrini has made ſimilar obſervations at Viareggio, upon the elevation of the ſurface of

the ſea; a phaenomenon, ſays he, which was not unknown to our learned of the thirteenth century, and which is expreſly noticed by the engineer Sabbadini, who wrote a great deal concerning the *Lagunas* of Venice.

But what will you ſay at laſt, Sir, if, notwithſtanding facts ſo apparently deciſive, naturaliſts ſhould be produced who aſſert the directly contrary? I do not ſpeak of thoſe who, with Maillet, would prove it by certain lands from which the ſea has viſibly withdrawn itſelf: Ravenna furniſhes an unanſwerable argument againſt them. From very exact levels which have been taken, we are ſure that the ſea has riſen there ſeveral feet ſince the time of the Emperor Theodoſius; and yet it has withdrawn itſelf ſo, that that city, which was a port wherein the Roman fleet aſſembled, is now a league up within land.

The littoral movement which carries the ſands of the rivers of Romagna towards the entrance of the Adriatic, is the principal cauſe of that great bar, which ſeparates, in ſome meaſure, Ravenna from the ſea. The ſame muſt be ſaid of the lower Egypt, where the Delta forms the mouths of the Nile.

I meant therefore to ſpeak to you, Sir, of a Swediſh Mathematician, who pretends, from

long repeated obſervations, that the level of the Baltic, and that part of the ocean which bathes the Weſtern coaſt of Sweden, ſinks continually: and that diminution is not of half a foot in 348 years, like Manfredi's elevation, nor of a foot in a century, like that of Hartſoeker, but of a full inch a-year, that is to ſay, of about eight feet in a century. From whence you ſee, Sir, that no great length of time will be required for the Baltic, which is not very deep, to become dry, and for people to ride poſt from Stralſund to Stockholm.

The obſervations which back this new aſſertion, are the modern names of iſlands, ſtreights, capes; great iron rings and anchors found in inland parts, bodies of water lower than they were formerly, different landings upon the coaſt; in ſhort, the moſt deciſive are rocks, which, within the memory of the old men of that country, were formerly juſt even with the ſurface of the water, and now rear their heads above it, or even command the ſea by ſeveral feet.

I have heard ſome people maintain, that the ſeas of the North diminiſh continually, whilſt thoſe of the South increaſe without ceaſing. This ariſes, ſay they, from the centrifugal force, which being greater, for example, in Italy than in Sweden, muſt conſequently throw the waters

back upon our ſhores; ſo that the diameter of the earth becomes continually narrower towards the poles, and ſpreads at the equator: but they do not conſider, that this action of the centrifugal force, which they pretend to be perpetual, cannot have taken place but in the origin when the earth began to turn upon itſelf, and that there was ſoon eſtabliſhed an univerſal equilibrium, by virtue of which it conſtantly retains its ſpheroidal form.

There is much more ſubtilty in the reaſoning of the Swedes, who pretend that, in general, the quantity of water upon our globe muſt diminiſh conſtantly, as well to the South as to the North. They found their opinion upon the authority of the great Newton, who, in the third book of his Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy, ſpeaks to the following effect: "The only food of vegetables is water. It is "this element which conſtitutes their parts and "increaſe. Now when they are dead, they do "not return to water, but a conſiderable part "of their ſubſtance is, by means of putrefaction, "converted into earth. From whence the ter-"reſtrial part of the globe increaſes from day "to day, whilſt, for the contrary reaſon, the "aqueous part diminiſhes; ſo that this laſt "would ſoon be reduced to nothing, if the

" tails of the comets, rarefied to an infinite de-
" gree, and diſperſed in the ſpace of the heavens,
" did not, in falling by little and little upon the
" planets, furniſh vapours to their atmoſpheres,
" and moiſture to their ſeas."

Thus it is, that, by the conſtant progreſſion of vegetation, the quantity of water diminiſhes inceſſantly; of which ſome are ſo thoroughly perſuaded, that they do not ſcruple to believe that thoſe wonderful layers of petrified ſhells, and marine foſſils, which are ſometimes met with up to the top of mountains, far from being medals of the deluge, as a witty gentleman terms them, are on the contrary, evident proofs of a bed of ſea dried up by the ſinking of its waters.

What is to be concluded from all this, Sir? Notwithſtanding theſe fine reaſonings, I make no doubt, that you ſtill are for the elevation of the level of the ſea. The demonſtrations in favour of it are too ſtriking; and vague traditions, conjectures, ſpeculations concerning the primitive ſtate of the earth, how ingenious ſoever they may be, cannot have much weight when compared with them. Eſpecially as Hartſoeker's obſervations upon the ocean, abſolutely contradict thoſe of the Swedes; and as to the Baltic, other naturaliſts pretend that its is owing to the elevation of its ſurface, that the ſea has pene-

trated between the continent and the territory of Rugen, which did not antiently form an iſland.

For greater confirmation of this truth, I will add, Sir, that being lately in company with a learned Engliſhman, and the converſation falling upon this ſubject, he aſſured me, that, having lived ſome time in the iſland of Capraea, as famous for the purity of its air as for the impurities of Tiberius; he obſerved there, that the ground-floor of a building erected in the time of the Romans, and ſituated upon the borders of the ſea, is now ſubmerged by it.

As to the reſt, if there yet remain any doubts upon this head, no naturaliſt in the world is better able to clear them up, than the Empreſs of Ruſſia: Sovereign of a part of the Caſpian and of the Baltic, and of the immenſe coaſts of the frozen ocean, ſhe can order her Academicians to make obſervations, from which our deſcendants, at leaſt, would ſee truth in all its evidence: and this would not be the firſt important problem of natural hiſtory that Ruſſia has ſolved. It is through her that it is now known, beyond all diſpute, that Nova Zembla is really an iſland; and that Aſia extends very far, it is true, to the Eaſt towards America, but that, in fact, it is ſeparated from it. There is between thoſe two great continents a ſtreight,

through which our ſhips may one day go to the Eaſt-Indies, if, according to the advice of Maupertuis and Maclaurin, they will but dare to keep out to ſea off Zembla; ſteer towards the pole, where the ſea is free from ice, and very wide, and from thence turning to the Eaſt, enter into the South ſea; which, by a ſtreight, communicates with the frozen ocean.

END *of the* LETTERS *upon* RUSSIA.

AN ESSAY ON THE DURATION of the REIGNS OF THE SEVEN KINGS of ROME.

Non quæro rationes eas quæ ex conjectura pendent, quæ diſputationibus huc et illuc trahuntur, nullam adhibent perſuadendi neceſſitatem. Geometræ provideant, qui ſe profitentur non perſuadere, ſed cogere. CICER. Acad. queſt. Lib. iv.

NEWTON extended to the ſtudy of Chronology, that obſerving and enlightened genius, which ſhewed him the illuſion of the moſt generally received philoſophical hypotheſes, and unveiled to him the ſprings of the true ſyſtem of the world. The end of this ſci-

ence is to fix the epochas of hiſtory, and aſcertain the preciſe dates of principal events; which becomes difficult in proportion to their remoteneſs, and as the monuments which might throw a light upon them diminiſh. The guide to which the Greek Chronologiſts had recourſe, to extricate themſelves from this labyrinth, was the ſeries of Princes who were ſaid to have reigned in thoſe diſtant ages. They looked upon it as indiſputable, that the reigns equalled the generations in point of duration, and upon this foundation it was that they undertook to eſtabliſh order in the chaos of their traditions.

Newton perceived the want of ſolidity in their principle. As crowns do not always paſs from the fathers to the children, as they are expoſed to different revolutions, as thoſe who wear them do not always keep them to the end of their days, as ſeveral of theſe periſh by violent deaths; and as, in fine, the order of ſucceſſion is ſometimes interrupted; he judged, that there muſt be another rule for the duration of the reigns, than for that of the generations. In fact, he demonſtrates, by an unanſwerable calculation, that, whilſt the generations may be eſtimated at thirty-three years, the reigns of all Kings, both antient and modern, whoſe chronology is certain, do

not exceed, one with another, eighteen or twenty years each.

That long ſeries of Emperors, which the annals of China preſent, down from Ya-Ho, during the courſe of above four thouſand years, * confirms admirably well the rule laid down by the Engliſh philoſopher; ſo that the antient Chronologiſts, who, reckoning a century for three Kings, are found to have increaſed their reigns near one-half, by that means throw hiſtory much too far back into ages of darkneſs. Newton therefore corrected the antient Chronology, and, agreeable to the laws of nature, brought the principal epochas of antiquity down nearer to us, and abridged the heroic times; juſt as Deliſle, from exact obſervations, contracted the limits of our continent, which was before made to extend very far into parts occupied by ſeas.

From a neceſſary conſequence of his ſyſtem, it is clear that hiſtorians have added conſiderably to the real duration of the regal ſtate at Rome. They make it laſt two hundred and forty four years: the reigns of the ſeven Kings would be, according to this calculation, of thirty-eight years each; which, being contrary to all probability, we muſt conclude, that the antient capital of the world is much leſs old than is generally thought.

* See Du Halde's Deſcription of China, Vol. I.

It is a known fact, that when Rome was burnt by the Gauls, its archives were conſumed in the conflagration: conſequently the writers, who afterwards undertook to tranſmit to poſterity facts prior to that epocha, could found their accounts only upon vague and uncertain traditions.* It was therefore in their power to throw the reigns of the Kings back into the obſcurity of time, and to lengthen their duration. The only law they were obliged to ſubmit to was that of preſerving their names, and of not altering eſſentially thoſe principal events of which the memory ſtill ſubſiſts. In every thing elſe they could give a looſe to their imagination and to their prejudices; and indulge the inclination, which nations, as well as families, have of deriving their origin from as far back as poſſible.

As however the details, frequently minute, into which hiſtorians enter, and ſtill more the form of annals which they take from the Romans, is, in the eyes of the multitude, a ſtrong teſtimony in favour of the certainty of their chronology, I think it is proper to ſhew the whole of its invalidity. Newton, keeping to the ordinary courſe of nature, has indeed demonſtrated, that it is no way probable that ſeven Kings, one of

* See the Introduction to the Critical Hiſtory of the Roman Government.

whom was expelled, and four died a violent death, ſhould have reigned two hundred and forty-four years; but that great man not having ſtopped to diſcuſs the foundamental part of the queſtion, I have reſolved to attempt it, and to examine carefully the epochas eſtabliſhed by hiſtorians, and principally by Livy, whoſe authority is the greateſt of all. It will appear, that they cannot be reconciled with the facts to which they relate, and that they muſt abſolutely be rejected, unleſs one be proof againſt all the improbabilities and contradictions which reſult therefrom.

To begin with Romulus, who is ſaid to have reigned thirty-eight years: * his principal exploits were the war againſt the Sabines, who demanded back their daughters, and different incurſions among the people of the country. Whatever name one may pleaſe to give them, they can hardly be made to laſt more than one campaign each. † Plutarch gives us the epocha of that Prince's expedition againſt the Camerians, which was his laſt but one; and he places it in

* T. Liv. *Decad. I. Lib.* 1. Plut. *in Romulo, in fine. Idem in Numa, in princip.*

† I ſhould even believe that all theſe excurſions, the deſign of which was to ſeize upon harveſts, crops, or to plunder a neighbouring hamlet, never laſted a whole week.

the ſixteenth year of the foundation of Rome, or of his reign, which is here the ſame.* From that time to his death, the Veienti were the only people he encountered. They demanded the reſtitution of Fidaene, a town belonging to them, which he had ſeized upon before he took Cameria;† and this circumſtance ſeems a deciſive reaſon for not placing this laſt war of Romulus later than the ſeventeenth year of his reign; it being quite improbable that a powerful nation, ſuch as the Veienti were, ſhould defer any longer to inſiſt on the reſtitution of their property. Wars then were ſudden, and revenge ſoon followed the offence.

Thus Romulus's laſt expedition belongs to the ſeventeenth year of his reign. If he be made to reign thirty-eight years, it will be neceſſary to ſay, that, under this Prince, Rome was longer at peace than at war, which is abſolutely repugnant to the warlike inclination all authors agree in giving him. It would be ſtill more difficult to reconcile ſo many years of reſt and inactivity, with the anſwer which Plutarch makes Numa return to the deputies of the Roman people who came to offer him the crown. To excuſe himſelf from accepting it, he repre-

* Plutar. *in Romulo.*
† Id. *Ibid. paula poſt.*

ſents to them, that their governor ought to be an active enterprizing man, and in the prime of life; and that, ſurrounded with ſo many enemies as Romulus had left them to encounter, it was leſs a King they ſtood in need of than a general. *

Plutarch furniſhes likewiſe another paſſage, not leſs concluſive to ſhorten the reign of Romulus. He died according to that writer, at the age of fifty-four; ſo that, to preſerve his thirty-eight years of reign, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have been but ſeventeen when he laid the foundation of Rome. Now can it be imagined that this Prince could have atchieved all the great things which Plutarch relates of him, at a time when he was hardly out of his infancy? Troops of robbers deſtroyed or diſperſed, the high roads rendered ſafe to travel, the weak protected againſt the oppreſſions of the ſtrong; not to mention his prudence in council, his deep policy, and the other ſignal proofs he had already given of his capacity and valour, warriors aſſembled, a colony eſtabliſhed, a city founded; do theſe things ſeem to ſuit ſo tender an age? It cannot then but be allowed, that the beginning of his reign has been placed too far back, and that

* Plutar. *in Numa.*

ſeveral years muſt abſolutely be retrenched from it.

Proceeding now from Romulus to the reign of Numa, which is ſaid to have been of forty-three years continuance, * it is not leſs clear that this muſt likewiſe be ſhortened. I do not examine here the queſtion debated by Livy and Plutarch, whether Numa could be the diſciple of Pythagoras, and have drawn from the leſſons of that illuſtrious philoſopher, the plan of thoſe religious eſtabliſhments which contributed ſo much to the grandeur of Rome: it is certain, that, according to the vulgar chronology, the beginning of the reign of Numa preceded by a century the time when Pythagoras arrived in Italy; † ſo that for this Prince to have him for

* *Romulus ſeptem et triginta regnavit annos: Numa tres et quadraginta.* Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

† *Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam conditam vi et armis, jure eam legibuſque ac moribus de integro condere parat.——— Auctorem doctrinæ ejus, quia non extat alius falſo Samium Pythagoram edunt: quem, Servio Tullio regnante Roma, centum amplius poſt annos, in ultima Italiæ ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona, juvenum æmulantium ſtudia cœtus habuiſſe conſtat.* Id. Ibid.

Pherecides Syrus primam dixit animos hominum eſſe ſempiternos—Hanc opinionem diſcipulus ejus Pythagoras maxime confirmavit, qui cum ſuperbo regnante in Italiam veniſſet, tenuit magnam illam Græciam, etc. Cicer. Tuſcul. Queſt. Lib. 1.

Pythagoras qui fuit in Italia temporibus iiſdem quibus L. Brutus patriam liberavit. Id. Ibid. Lib. iv.

See alſo Plutarch in the beginning of the life of Numa.

his inſtructor, it would be neceſſary to place his reign lower down, and to retrench conſiderably from the reigns of the five Kings who wore the crown after him, till the expulſion of Tarquin the Proud; this laſt epocha not admitting any conteſt. My preſent object is, to ſhew the reaſons there are for ſhortening the reign of Numa; and the diſpute about the preciſe time to which it ſhould be referred, is, in itſelf, foreign to the purpoſe.

It follows, from the account given by Plutarch and Livy, that Numa, by birth a Sabine, was forty years old, * when, after long debates during an inter-regnum of a year, † he was at laſt choſen to ſucceed Romulus. We read, that what united the ſuffrages of all in his favour, was the high opinion which the whole country had conceived of his wiſdom. Such, ſays Livy, was his juſtice and religion; ſuch was his knowlege, both of the civil law and of the worſhip of the Gods; that, as ſoon as his name was pronounced at Rome, the different parties turned towards him, and though it might be feared leſt the Sabines ſhould endeavour to avail themſelves

* Plutar. *in Numa.*

† *Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido verſabat.* Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

Annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id. Ibid. paulo poſt.

of the King's being of their nation, yet the Senators unanimouſly decreed him the government; no one daring to ſeem to preſer himſelf, nor any one of his faction, before a man ſo generally eſteemed. *

I now aſk, whether it be credible that Numa had acquired ſuch profound knowlege, and attained ſo high a degree of wiſdom, at the age of forty? I aſk at leaſt, whether it be probable that he could, at that age, have ſo diſtinguiſhed and ſo well-known a reputation, that his name ſufficed at Rome to ſilence the cabals of a long inter-regnum, to conciliate the minds of all, and to determine, in an inſtant, the different orders of the republic to give him the crown?

But that is not all. Romulus's colleague, Tatius, had given him his only daughter; and he did not determine to chooſe him for his ſon-in-law, but in conſequence of the univerſal eſteem in which he was held. † Though hiſtorians do

* *Inclita juſtitia religioque ea tempeſtate Numæ Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabit, conſultiſſimus vir, ut in illa quiſquam ætate eſſe poterat,* omnis divini atque humani juris——— *Audito nomine Numæ patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde ſumpto, videbantur; tamen neque ſe quiſquam nec factionis ſive alium, nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam præferre illi viro auſi, ad unum omnes Numæ Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt.* Id. Ibid. inferius.

Plutar. *in Numa.*

† Id. *Ibidem.*

not tell us the preciſe time of this marriage, one may boldly ſay that it was celebrated in the beginning of Romulus's reign, ſince Tatius was not alive at the time of the wars againſt the Fidenati and the Camerians; * that is to ſay, in the year ſixteen or ſeventeen of the foundation of Rome. Beſides, Plutarch aſſures us, that Tatia was dead when Numa was called to the throne, and that they had lived together the ſpace of thirteen years; † from whence it appears, that he enjoyed a very high reputation long before the death of Romulus. According to Plutarch's dates, it is even neceſſary to ſay, contrary to all likelihood, that it was ſo great at the age of five and twenty, that King Tatius thought it ſufficient even then to compenſate for the inequality of conditions. We cannot then avoid giving at leaſt three-ſcore years to Numa, at the time of his acceſſion to the crown. The ſpeech which Plutarch puts into his mouth to excuſe himſelf from accepting it, will thus ceaſe to be an enigma. A man of ſixty may ſay he is worn

* *Nam Lavinii quum ad ſolemne ſafricium eo veniſſet* (Tatius) *concurſu facto interficitur——Fidenates nimis vicinas prope ſe convaleſcere opes rati, priuſquam tantum roboris eſſet, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere.* Tit. Liv. I. Lib. 1.

Plutar. *in Numa.*

† Plutar. *in Numa.*

out, feeble, and incapable by his age to command an army; a very extraordinary language, not to ſay more, in the mouth of a man of forty.

Suppoſing then, that Numa aſcended the throne twenty years later than is commonly reckoned; as, according to hiſtorians, he died at eighty-three, the duration of his reign is abriged by ſo much; and by this means alſo the peace which Rome then enjoyed, which certainly is far more ſuitable to the occaſion of that infant republic, ſurrounded by people as much alarmed at her ambition, as jealous of her progreſs.

Livy ſays, that this peace laſted forty years: * but on comparing the different texts, and not letting any thing eſcape, it would be found to have laſted in reality ſixty-five; namely, forty-three years of Numa's reign, one year of interregnum, and the twenty-one laſt years of Romulus; whilſt, according to the facts we have juſt now diſcuſſed, it is reduced to twenty-four years. It will in this caſe no longer be ſurprizing that Tullus Hoſtilius, the ſucceſſor of Numa, ſhould awaken, ſo quickly as he did, the martial ſpirit of the Romans, and make them triumph over

* *Hæc ferme a Romulo domi militiæque geſta——ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annis tutam pacem haberet.* Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

ſeveral warlike nations. After a peace of ſixty-five years, it would not be ſo eaſy to conceive the victories of that Prince.

Without attempting to retrench any from the two following reigns of Hoſtilius and Ancus Martius; the firſt of which is of thirty-two years, and the ſecond of twenty-four; * I will however ſay, that it is not probable the ſons of this laſt had not attained the age of puberty at the time of their father's death, as Livy relates. † Ancus Martius was five years old when Numa died: ‡ adding to that, thirty-two and twenty-four, we find that this Prince was ſixty years of age when he died. Now at ſixty he ſhould, naturally ſpeaking, have had more adult children; it being cuſtomary for Princes to marry early, in order to leave behind them children able to ſucceed them in the government of their ſtates.

It would be to no purpoſe to allege, that the crown being elective, that conſideration did not affect him, or that all his firſt-born ſons died perhaps in their infancy: for on one hand ſuch a ſuppoſition is little probable, and on the other

* *Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.* Id. Ibid.
Regnavit Ancus quatuor et viginti. Id. Ibid.
† *Jam filii prope puberem ætatem erant.* Id. Ibid.
‡ Plut. *in Numa, ſub fine.*

it cannot be denied, that, when there were elections, the votes generally ran in favour of the royal family. Ancus Martius, who ſucceeded Numa, was grandſon of that Prince; * and after his death the elder Tarquin, whom he had appointed gaurdian of his children, removed them from Rome on the day of the comitiae, by which he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King, though their youth was ſuch, that his ambition needed not to have been alarmed. †

This Tarquin the elder is repreſented to us as an uſurper, who poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne in prejudice to his wards. He reigned, it is ſaid, thirty-eight years; and at length the ſons of Martius, hoping to recover their father's crown when he ſhould be no more, cauſed him to be

* *Numa Pompilii regis nepos, filia ortus Ancus Martius erat.* Tit. Liv. Dcad. I. Lib. 1.

† *Jam et Romanis conſpicuum eum novitas divitiæque faciebant: et ipſe* (L. Tarquinius) *quoque fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiiſque quos poterat, ſibi conciliando adjuvabat. Donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata eſt, notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiæ adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis conſiliis, bello domique intereſſet. Et per omnia expertus, poſtremo tutor etiam liberis regis teſtamento inſtitueretur.— Jam filii prope puberem ætatem, eo magis Tarquinius inſtare, ut quamprimam comita regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, ſub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Iſque primus et petiſſe ambitioſe regnum, et orationem dicitur habuiſſe ad conciliandos plebis animos compoſitam.* Id. Ibid.

aſſaſſinated.* It is undoubtedly ſtrange that they ſhould delay their revenge ſo long; at leaſt they muſt have been very unfortunate for a conſpiracy, ſo long concerted, to end only in their being baniſhed from Rome. One may therefore conjecture, that the reign of the elder Tarquin is, like the former, ſuſceptible of abrigement.

What ſhall we now ſay of his ſucceſſor, Servius Tullius? We are told that he was aſſaſſinated, after a reign of forty-four years, † by Lucius Tarquin, ſurnamed the Proud, who looked upon him as an intruder, and a ſlave mounted by fraud upon a throne, wreſted from the lawful heir. To perceive the abſurdity of this chronology, one need only recollect, that Tarquin the Proud was old enough to marry when Servius Tullius was proclaimed King, and that he actually did marry a daughter of his; ‡ that he

* *Duo de quadrageſimo ferme anno ex quo regnare cæperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo, ſed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etſi antea ſemper pro indigniſſimo habuerant, ſe patrio regno tutoris fraude pulſos——ſed et injuriæ dolor in Tarquinium ipſum magis quam in Servium eos ſtimulabat.——Ob hæc ipſi regi inſidiæ parantur.* Id. Ibid.

† *Servius Tullius regnavit annos quatuor et quadraginta.* Id. Ibid.

‡ *Nec jam publicis magis conſiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes. Et ne qualis Anci liberum animus adverſus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adverſus ſe Tarquinii liberum eſſet duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniis jungit.* Id. Ibid.

was of a violent temper, inordinately ambitious, and that his wife Tullia, who was not leſs ſo than him, incited him inceſſantly to rebel, and never left him a moment quiet. * Livy never ſpeaks of this Prince, during the life of Servius, but as of a young man; † and the hiſtory of the Revolution which placed him upon the throne repreſents him ſuch: we therein ſee, that he ſeized his unfortunate father-in-law round the waiſt, that he carried him out of the Senate-houſe, and that he threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the public market-place ‡. Such vigour would be as extraordinary in a man of ſixty-four, as the epithet of a young man is miſplaced when applied to him; and yet it cannot be pretended that Servius reigned forty-four years, without giving, at the time of his death, nearly that age to his ſucceſſor Tarquin.

This laſt of the Kings of Rome is ſaid to have

* *Et ipſe juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum ſtimulante——Nec nocte, nec interdiu virum conquieſcere pati, ne gratuite præterita parricidia eſſent.* Id. Ibid.

† *Servius, quamquam jam uſu haud dubie regnum poſſederat, tamen quia interdum jactari voces a juvene Tarquinio audibat,* etc. Id. Ibid.

Quid te ut regium juvenem conſpici ſinis? Id. Ibid.

‡ *Tum Tarquinius——Multo et ætate et viribus validior medium arripuit Servium: elatumque curia, in inferiorem partem per gradus dejicit.* Id. Ibid.

reigned twenty-five years. * The adventure which occaſioned his expulſion is well known. His ſon Sextus and Tarquinius Collatinus being encamped before Ardaea, which they beſieged, mutually indulged themſelves one day in praiſing the virtue of their wives; and each of them maintained that the palm of chaſtity was due to his: † this was the origin of Lucretia's misfortune, of the Conſulſhip, and of the liberty of Rome. Now this Tarquinius Collatinus was, as may readily be ſuppoſed, a young man; Livy even ſays it expreſsly. According to this author, his father was Egerius, nephew of the elder Tarquin, who gave him the command of Collatia, a town newly conquered from the Sabines. ‡

Collatia was taken in the beginning of the reign of the elder Tarquin, that is to ſay, that, according to the common chronology, it cannot

* *L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnorum Romæ ab condita urbe annos ccxliv.* Id. Ibid.

† *Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis comeſſationibus ve inter ſe terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sextum Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cænabat Tarquinius Egerii filius incidit de uxoribus mentio. Suam quiſque laudare miris modis, inde certamine accenſo Collatinus negat verbis opus eſſe, paucis id quidem horis poſſe ſciri quantum cæteris præſtet Lucretia ſua. Quin ſi vigor juventæ ineſt, conſcendimus equos, inviſimuſque præſentes noſtrarum ingenia?* Id. Ibid.

‡ *Collatia, et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum Egerius (fratris hic filius erat) Collatiæ in præſidia relictus.* Id. Ibid. multo ante.

be placed lower down than the hundred and fiftieth year of Rome. At that period Egerius, to be able to fill a poſt of ſuch importance, muſt be at leaſt about forty years of age; and it ſeems by ſo much the more indiſpenſable to allow him that age, as he was born, according to Livy, before the elder Tarquin ſettled at Rome *. Now I aſk whether it be conceivable that a man, who was forty years of age in the hundred and fiftieth year of Rome, could have a ſon, yet a young man, in the year of Rome two hundred and forty-four? For that to be, he muſt have had children when near an hundred years old, which, inſtead of being unnoticed by Livy, ought to have been recorded among the marvels of Pliny's Natural Hiſtory. Conſequently they who

* *Anco regnante, Lucumo vir impiger, ac divitiis potens Romam commigravit. Damarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob ſeditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte conſediſſet, uxore ubi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt. Lucumo ſuperfuit patri bonorum omnium hæres. Aruns prior quam pater moritur; uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet ſuperſtes filio pater: qui quum ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in teſtando nepotis deceſſiſſet, puero poſt avi mortem in nullam ſortem bonorum nato, ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucomoni contra omnium hæredi bonorum, quum divitiæ jam animas facerent auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, ſummo loco nata, et que haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora ſineret æa que innupſiſſet. Spernentibus Etruſcis Lucumonem exule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitæ erga patriam charitatis dummodo virum honoratum videret, conſilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis capit. Roma eſt ad id potiſſimum viſa.* Id. Ibid.

would abide by the genealogy of the Tarquins, muſt indiſpenſably ſhorten the reigns of the elder Tarquin, of Servius Tullius, and of Tarquin the Proud, which cannot then exceed the courſe of one generation.

Another equally ſtrong reaſon for abriging the reign of Tarquin the Proud, as well as that of Servius Tullius, his predeceſſor, is, that when Tarquin the Proud came to the crown, he was ſixty-four years old, as was before ſeen: adding to that the pretended twenty-five years of his reign, it follows that he was eighty-eight years old when he was dethroned; a circumſtance which his hiſtorians would probably not have omitted, if it had been true. Several years after his expulſion from Rome, that is to ſay, towards his hundredth year, we read that he fought on horſeback near the Lake Regillus, againſt the Dictator Poſthumius, and that he was wounded in the engagement.* This abſurdity, which follows from Livy's dates, is too groſs for us to ſpend time in noticing it. It is of a piece with that which reſults from the vulgar chronology, concerning the age Helen muſt be of when ſhe

* *In Poſthumium, prima in acie ſuos adhortantem inſtruentemque, Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam jam ætate et viribus erat gravior, equum infeſtus admiſit: ictuſque ab latere, concurſu ſuorum, receptus in tutum eſt.* Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 2.

inflamed Paris, and kindled the Trojan war. Common tradition makes her the twin ſiſter of Caſtor and Pollux, both of whom were in the expedition of the Argonauts. From that period to the ruin of Troy, the moſt authentic calculations allow at leaſt ſeventy years; ſo that one is forced to ſay, that that marvellous beauty was cotemporary with Hecuba, when Europe and Aſia went together by the ears for the honour of poſſeſſing her. Accordingly Lucian jokes prettily enough about her age. It appears that Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus recollected that of Tarquin; he felt the abſurdity of making him fight battles when bent beneath the weight of a century, and at that of the Lake Regillus, he ſubſtitutes in his ſtead Titus Tarquinius, his ſon. *

The contradictions between the common chronology and the principal circumſtances of the reigns of the ſeven Kings of Rome, prove then demonſtratively that ſeveral years muſt be retrenched from them. Under the impoſſibility of reconciling the events and the dates, under the neceſſity of looking upon the one or the other as fictitions, there ſeems not to be room to heſitate: tradition has undoubtedly preſerved the ſubſtance of the facts more faithfully than the preciſe time when they happened. Beſides, it

* Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. Lib. vi.

cannot but be allowed that an illiterate people, ignorant of even the firſt principles of aſtronomy, may very eaſily have miſtaken the number of the revolutions of a planet.

If now we adopt the rule obſerved and verified by Newton, and in conſequence thereof reduce the reigns of the ſeven Kings of Rome, taken together, to eighteen or twenty years each; the difficulties vaniſh, and hiſtory becomes enlightened. Romulus will no longer be a child who founds an empire; Numa, by his age and mature wiſdom, will have united in his favour the different parties which diſputed the crown; the ſons of Ancus Martius, in the age of paſſions and of violence, will not keep their ambition captive during thirty years, and deferred at that time to take revenge on their guardian; Tarquin, bent with years, will no longer diſplay the ſtrength and vigour of youth; every event will coincide with the order of nature.

To prove, in every ſhape, how much hiſtorians have erred when they make the regal ſtate of Rome laſt two hundred and forty-four years, we will end with examining the number of the generations which they reckon, and comparing the reſult of them with their chronology. We ſee in the life of Romulus, that Hoſtilius, grandfather of King Tullus Hoſtilius, died in the war

againſt the Sabines,* which happened in the firſt years of the foundation of Rome:† conſequently the reigns of Romulus, Numa, and Tullus, did not take up more than two generations. There is alſo but one from Numa to Ancus Martius, the former being grandfather of the latter; from whence it follows, that the generation which intervened between Numa and Ancus, coinciding with Tullus, from this laſt Prince to the reign of Ancus, cannot be reckoned more than one generation; and according to this calculation, from Romulus to this period, we have about three generations.

Tarquin the elder, one of the Lucomons of Etruria, was paſt his youth when he went to Rome under the reign of Ancus, who appointed him guardian of his children. His age being thus nearly the ſame as that of that Prince, there remains but one generation to reckon between the reign of Ancus and that of Tarquin the Proud, ſon of the elder Tarquin; and conſequently

* *Principes utrinque pugnam ciebant: ab Sabinis Metius Curtius, ab Romanis Hoſtius Hoſtilius—ut Hoſtius occidit, etc.—— Inde Tullum Hoſtilium nepotem Hoſtilii, cujus in infima arce clara pugna adverſus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus juſſit.* Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1. Plut. in Romulo.

† Id. Ibid.

from Romulus to the expulsion of this last, there are not more than four generations. *

Livy, it is true, does not dare to decide whether Tarquin the Proud was son, or only grandson of the elder Tarquin. But besides that most historians agree in saying that he was his son, and that Livy himself has adopted this opinion ;† Collatinus, who, towards the end of the reign of Tarquin the Proud, was yet young, though his father Egerius had attained the age of maturity in the beginning of that of the elder Tarquin, proves evidently that there was no intermediate generation between those two Princes.

Now then reckoning, according to the common estimate, the generation at thirty-three years, we shall have an hundred and thirty-two years for the duration of the regal state of Rome,

* For Romulus, Numa, and Tullus Hostilius, two generations, } 2
For Ancus Martius, cotemporary with Tarquin the elder, father of Tarquin the Proud, } 1
For Tarquin the Proud, ——— ——— ——— 1
Total 4

† *Hic L. Tarquinius Prisci Tarquinii filius nepos ve fuerit, parum liquet: pluribus tamen auctoribus filium crediderint.*

Devolvere retro ad stirpem fratri similior quam patri quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante, perpessi sint. Tarquinios reges ambos patrem vovisse filium perfecisse. Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

whilſt, according to Livy, it laſted two hundred and forty-four, ſo that there is upwards of a century difference between two reſults which ought to be the ſame. On the contrary, if, with Newton, we reduce the ſeven reigns to nineteen years each, one with another, they will amount but to an hundred and thirty-three years, and their duration will agree perfectly with that of the generations during which they happened.

Thus Newton's chronology, in juſtifying Virgil from the anachroniſm of which he is accuſed, for having made Æneas and Dido live in the ſame age, may alſo juſtify the common tradition of the Romans, that Numa had been the diſciple of Pythagoras, and that the wiſdom of Greece did not contribute leſs than the valour of Italy, to the founding of that empire which gave laws to the world.

END *of the* ESSAY *on the* DURATION *of the* REGAL STATE *of* ROME.

AN ESSAY ON THE EMPIRE of the INCAS.

Nous ſeuls dans ces climats nous ſommes les Barbares.

VOLTAIRE'S *Alzire.*

AMONG the falſe opinions which have gained credit in the literary world, the prejudice that the Greeks and Romans are the only people worth ſtudying, is not the leaſt deſerving of notice. In conſequence of that prejudice, the generality of men of letters diſdain even to caſt a look upon the nations they are pleaſed to call Barbarians, becauſe it has not been their lot to have for hiſtorians a Thucydides or a Livy. Such is not the way of thinking with philoſophers, who, not content to travel by the help of books, in the country of Cicero and

Demoſthenes, chooſe to run over the whole ſurface of the globe, with an enquiring eye. They ſee that the countries moſt deſpiſed by our learned, can furniſh us with great examples, and important inſtructions for every thing that relates to civil life; juſt as thoſe animals, which are commonly reputed the moſt vile, are generally thoſe from which we derive the greateſt ſervice.

In North-America, the republic of the Iroquois is principally diſtinguiſhed. They fix our attention, among the ſeveral tribes that ſurround them, as well by their conqueſts, as by their love of liberty, their paſſion for glory, and the opinion univerſally eſtabliſhed among them, that they are the moſt excellent nation upon the face of the earth; an opinion, which, joined to activity and valour, may, in fact, make people be what they imagine they are.

The little value which their Sachems or Chiefs ſet upon riches, is unexampled in our civilized governments: honour and ſhame are the firſt cauſe of their actions; the one is their principal reward, the other their greateſt puniſhment. Maturity in councils, quickneſs in execution, good faith in treaties, fidelity in keeping them, and above all, reſolution to do and ſuffer what would ſhake the moſt intrepid courage, render

them equal, not to ſay ſuperior, to the Romans. But, as the virtue of theſe laſt was at length corrupted by the luxury of Aſia, ſo that of the Iroquois has not been proof againſt our ſpirituous liquors; and ſince we communicated to them our intemperance, they have greatly degenerated.

If, in North-America, thoſe nations, whom we think proper to call ſavages, might often ſerve us for models; in the South of that continent, the Peruvians, whom we eſteem fit only at moſt to exerciſe the genius of our noveliſts, do not leſs merit our admiration. Hiſtory, whether antient or modern, does not offer any thing more intereſting than their Princes or Incas. We ſee them, without any other aid than their dexterity and genius, form an immenſe plan, and complete it within the courſe of a century, by putting in action means as extraordinary as they were profoundly meditated, by employing the maxims of a conſummate policy, and by ſetting at the ſame time ſtriking and continual examples of piety, magnificence, and valour: in a word, they afford us the only example of a private family's attaining, in but a ſhort time, to the dominion of a vaſtly extenſive and immenſely rich country; and of its founding there

an empire which few in Europe can now be compared to. *

Mango Capac, from whom the Incas derived their origin, was, about the middle of the thirteenth century, the Romulus of that empire: with this difference, however, that Romulus, at the head of a troop of banditti, called himſelf the ſon of Mars; and that Mango, without partizans and without arms, gave out, like Orpheus, that he was the ſon of the Sun, and ſent by that principle of the fruitfulneſs of nature, to deliver mankind from the ſtate of barbariſm in which they lived like the brute creation. He collected them together, taught them the moſt uſeful arts, knew how to employ them, to ſoften them, to tame them, and to multiply their wants in order to keep them in ſubjection. In ſhort, ſuch was his wiſdom and induſtry, that he drew from the depth of their caverns great numbers of ſavages, and, putting himſelf at their head, founded the city of Cozco, which became in a few years the Rome of that vaſt continent. All Mango's ſucceſſors and deſcendants laboured with equal aſſiduity, to complete the great work he had begun; and what they did is the ſtrongeſt proof of what

* It extended from Quito to beyond Chili, and was 130 leagues in length. *See Garcias-Laſſo della Vega's Hiſtory of Peru and of the Incas.*

can be done by prudence, opportunity, and fortune combined.

The Incas were a ſet of men half miſſionaries, and half conquerors: they preached ſword in hand, and fought with the paſtoral ſtaff: their tenets were ſimple and few. They taught a Supreme Being, the Creator of all things, whom they called Pachecamac, that is to ſay, the ſupport of the univerſe. They added, that the ſun is his image, and that this beneficent planet, as his principal inſtrument, animates the earth, impregnates it with the virtue of Heaven, and gives life to the world.

They boaſted, as was before ſaid, of deriving their origin from it, and of being ſent by it to civilize mankind, to give them the rules of morality, to teach them the arts fitteſt to render them happy; and in fine, to reveal to them the knowlege of God, his worſhip, and the tremendous myſtery of another life, in which the wicked will be rigorouſly puniſhed, and the good nobly rewarded. They declared expreſly, that, after death, theſe laſt enjoy a perfect and unalterable tranquillity of mind and of body; whilſt the impious and tranſgreſſors of the laws ſuffer, inceſſantly and without end, all the evils and all the pains to which humanity is ſubject.

Such were their tenets; they preached them at the head of an army, which kept on the defenſive, till the ſavages, whom they intended to convert, were ſufficiently inſtructed: they never proceeded to hoſtilities, till incredulity and obſtinacy left no farther room to hope any good from time and pains. The prodigies which attended the miſſion of the Incas, were the felicity of the people ſubject to their government.

They inſtructed them in the art of ſpinning wool and cotton, of draining and cultivating the land; they rendered every one uſeful to ſociety, and puniſhed idleneſs as a robbery of the public. They allotted to the blind and to the lame ſuitable occupations, ſufficient to prevent their being buthenſome to the ſtate. As to the old, they were maintained at its expence; only they were to take care not to let birds feed upon the new-ſown grounds. Upon the highways there were, from ſpace to ſpace, a kind of caravanſeras, where travellers had the convenience of reſting and refreſhing themſelves; in a word, the ſecurity of individuals, and the vigour of the conſtitution, were the end which theſe wiſe Princes endeavoured to accompliſh by every kind of means. The ſight of the happineſs of thoſe who lived under their laws, rendered the ſavages

who were witneſſes of it, docile to their yoke, and converts to their miſſion.

They divided the lands into three equal parts: the firſt was reſerved for the ſun; they kept the ſecond for their domain; and ſhared the third among the inhabitants of the country: by this diſtribution they excited the induſtry of the people who had but a ſmall patrimony, and increaſed continually the ſtrength of the empire and the majeſty of religion. The auſterity with which they had cloathed it, contributed ſtill farther to make it be revered. Every one has heard of their virgins conſecrated to the worſhip of the ſun by the moſt ſolemn vows: they were ſubjected to laws at leaſt as ſevere as thoſe of the Roman veſtals.

The auguſt pomp of the temple conſecrated to the ſun, the ſplendour of the feſtivals celebrated to its honour, the magnificence of the palace and court of the ſovereign, all confirmed the people, ſober and poor in the midſt of riches, in the belief of the divinity of their maſters. Beſides that the Incas were the ſupreme heads of the religion, the magiſtracy and the army, they had concentered in themſelves every power, and thereby multiplied titles beſt calculated to render them reſpectable. One would almoſt think, that when they laid the foundations of their

empire, they took counſel of one of the moſt profound politicians of our continent, who, inculcating in Princes that they ought, if they are wiſe, to delegate the leaſt they poſſibly can of their authority, by a figure ſuitable to the time in which he lived, bids them obſerve, that the rays which are of gold in the ſun, are but of ſilver when reflected by the moon.

They never married out of their own family, as if they could not have allied with the reſt of mankind without degrading themſelves; and at the ſame time they deſcended like fathers into the moſt minute details of the wants of their ſubjects, watched over them continually, and were in a manner preſent inceſſantly before them, viſiting ſucceſſively the different provinces of their empire, and maintaining juſtice and the laws in vigour, in every part, by their perſonal inſpection.

By ſuch ſteps it was, that the Incas found means to unite the prieſt-hood and the empire, the ſceptre and the cenſer, the humanity of government and the terror of arms, the pomp of the Eaſtern monarchs and the popularity of the Kings of Europe; in a word, they poſſeſſed, in a very high degree, that great art of the moſt dexterous Princes, of concealing the deſigns of their paſſions under ſpecious pretences, and, by

a happy choice of ſuitable means, to lead men, as of their own accord, to the objects they are leaſt fond of, and for which they ſeem to have the greateſt reluctance.

What ſhall we now ſay when we conſider that theſe Princes, theſe pretended barbarians, not only conducted themſelves according to the wiſeſt principles of policy; but alſo, which is its maſter-piece, knew how to give way to circumſtances, to ſuit their laws to them, to mitigate them, and to interpret them according to the occaſion and time, without bringing in queſtion their dignity? Though arms appeared to be the natural profeſſion of the Incas, though they ſeemed to heed nothing but conqueſts, and though they were almoſt always at the head of their army, they did not the leſs know how to take advantage of the diviſions that aroſe among the nations with which their empire was ſurrounded. They aſſiſted the weakeſt party againſt the ſtrongeſt, animated them under-hand one againſt the other, and at length reduced them to ſlavery, generally contenting themſelves with conquering without triumphing.

The family of the Incas, of which the King was the chief, ranked incomparably above every order of the ſtate, and was even reſpected as ſuperior to the condition of man; the only and

fundamental cauſe of their ſovereign power. Yet Mango Capac honoured with the title of Incas the firſt people whom he reduced under his laws; and, as the Romans did formerly with regard to the Latins, he claſſed them as his aſſociates, rather to make them ſerve as co-operators in his deſigns, than to ſhare his authority with them.

Though religion ſeemed always to be the firſt cauſe of every action of theſe Princes, and the ſoul of their military expeditions, they were not however ſo rigid in point of belief, as not to tolerate the worſhip of the conquered. They conſtantly over-looked opinions which the attention of government alone renders dangerous, by giving them an air of importance; their great care was to let controverſies remain buried in obſcurity, to prevent parties becoming ſects, to hinder dogmatic queſtions from rending the ſtate; and above all, they laid it down as a fundamental maxim never to defile religion with blood, and never to ſuffer victims to be ſacrificed to fanaticiſm. This ſpirit of peace and wiſdom is remarkably conſpicuous in the conduct of Viracocha. That Emperor having convened a kind of ſynod on account of the worſhip of the inhabitants of Lima, far from being againſt their keeping an old idol, famous in their nation for

its oracles, gave them leave to continue to offer up ſacrifices to it; only requiring that they ſhould acknowlege the divinity of the Sun, and obey its children.

The Incas ſhewed a ſimilar regard for the laws and cuſtoms of the people they ſubdued. They continued in their offices the Curacas or Generals of the conquered, leaving them however only a ſubordinate authority under that of the Inca, whom they appointed governor of the province. At the ſame time they took away their children, under pretence of treating them with diſtinction, but in reality to have hoſtages for their fidelity. Theſe youths, by breathing the air of the court from their infancy, were, by the time their education was completed, full of its ſpirit and manners, attached by habit and gratitude to the royal family, and in every reſpect different from what they would have been if they had remained with their parents. Thus it was that, like thoſe botaniſts, who, pulling up young trees and replanting them with the head downward, force their branches to become roots, and their roots to turn into branches, the Incas found the ſecret to change intirely the ideas, the prejudices, and the opinion of thoſe they governed. By theſe wiſe precautions, whilſt they left the conquered

a ſemblance of their antient freedom, they prevented all abuſe of it, and took from them every means of revolting: which is known to have been the maſter-piece of the policy of the Romans.

They agreed alſo with thoſe great maſters in the art of government, in a point not leſs eſſential to ſecure the poſſeſſion of conquered provinces. They ſettled colonies in them, whilſt they ſeemed to have no other view than to embelliſh them with aqueducts and high roads; with one hand they raiſed temples, and with the other they built fortreſſes in them. Above all, they took care to make the language of the capital become that of every people ſubject to their empire; well knowing that nothing cements nations and towns more cloſely than their ſpeaking the ſame tongue. It ſeemed to them, that men accuſtomed to confound the ſigns of things with the things themſelves, would ſoon ſee alike after they were once agreed in the expreſſion.

Pachacutec, one of the greateſt Princes that ever reigned in Peru, iſſued an edict by which he forbad ſpeaking any other tongue than that of Cozco: and as William the Conqueror diſtributed Normans in all the convents of England, and publiſhed his laws in the French language, of which there yet remain ſtriking proofs in the

juriſprudence and legiſlation of that iſland, that Inca ſent ſchool-maſters into all the provinces of his dominions, to teach his ſubjects the language of the metropolis, and to make thoſe Quipos, or knots, which, by the mixture of their colours and threads, were among the Peruvians, as letters are among the people of our continent, the ſign and expreſſion of the moſt ſecret thoughts. If the importance of Pachacutec's edict was great, the penalty which he inflicted on the negligent and refractory was not leſs ſevere; he excluded them from all offices and employments: we know that the Emperor Julian, that enemy of the Chriſtians, thought this the kind of martyrdom moſt likely to ſhake their faith.

What chiefly contributes to the proſperity and glory of an empire, is military diſcipline. Accordingly the Peruvians were at all times prepared for war, peace being to them, in ſome meaſure, but a continuation of it; and among them the ſlighteſt fault in the ſervice was irremiſſibly puniſhed. Before a young Inca was armed Knight, he was obliged to give ſtrict proofs of his capacity, that is to ſay, of his dexterity in wreſtling, of his expertneſs in the management of arms, and of his agility in racing, of his bravery, and of his ſkill in attacking and defending a fort. It certainly cannot be denied

that their troops were well-diſciplined, ſince they never employed armies of more than fifty or ſixty thouſand men, even in their greateſt conqueſts. They likewiſe kept an exact regiſter of the number of perſons in the empire. Each order of citizens was in a manner divided into different claſſes, and each diviſion was ſubject to the inſpection of a chief. No man could obtain the leaſt command in Peru, without having firſt ſerved the apprenticeſhip of obedience.

After theſe regulations, ſo wiſely calculated for every part of the adminiſtration, and which are no way inferior to the beſt our Europe can boaſt of; one is undoubtedly curious to be informed what eſtabliſhments the Incas made for the advancement of learning. How will the greater number be ſurprized to hear, that thoſe Princes, ſo judicious, inſtead of trying to promote it, endeavoured on the contrary to prevent its ſpreading among the people? It appears, that they knew the fatality attached to the ſciences; and that they foreſaw they could not be releaſed from cloſets and libraries, without exciting thoſe troubles and diſorders which have deſolated the ſtates where they have flouriſhed moſt.

It happens but too often that ſimple individuals, hurried on by the warmth of their imaginations, and puffed up with an opinion of their

own knowlege, dare to lay an audacious hand upon the veil of the ſanctuary, to examine the ſprings of the political machine, to fathom the foundations of the conſtitution, and to inveſtigate upon what the helm of government turns. Obedience to the laws, and veneration for opinions neceſſary to the welfare of ſociety, always loſe in philoſophical diſcuſſions. From the moment that the learned begin to figure, the people ceaſe inſenſibly to be good.

There are few men of ſound judgment who do not wiſh the greateſt part of our books, and eſpecially thoſe that are moſt in vogue, and of which the public are fondeſt, to undergo the ſame fate as the Alexandrian library; and the new Omar, who ſhould commit them to the flames, could not aſſign a better reaſon than that ignorant and judicious conqueror. The Incas then interdicted the ſciences to the people, as a ſecret of ſtate: they communicated to them only what they judged neceſſary, by the adminiſtration of the laws, which, like a voice from heaven, ſpeak peremptorily to men, and direct them without affording room for diſputes. *

* *Legem per brevem eſſe oportet quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emiſſa de cœlo vox ſit: jubeat non diſputet*, etc. Seneca. Ep. xciv.

They would have their ſubjects practiſe virtue, and not meddle with defining it.

The manual and mechanical arts were the only ones they thought uſeful to the people. As theſe exerciſe the body, render it robuſt, diſpel the inquietudes of the imagination, lead men from caballing againſt the ſtate, and even turn to its advantage, they neglected nothing to make them flouriſh. It cannot be conceived what pains the Incas took for this purpoſe: the ſucceſs anſwered completely. They who have lived ſome time in America, and who have been within reach of obſerving how much the minds of the Peruvians are naturally ſluggiſh, not to ſay ſtupid, are forced to acknowlege the miracles which legiſlation can operate.

Who would believe that ſuch a nation ever equalled the moſt ingenious people, and the moſt conſummate in the arts? That which is the firſt and nobleſt of them, and which gives life to all, Agriculture, upon which the Romans founded their empire, and the beſt ſoldiery in the world, and to the progreſs of which the Engliſh now owe the extent of their trade and power, was equally honoured and perfected in Peru. The King, on a certain day of the year, encouraged tillage by his own example, and traced out furrows with a golden plow, which

is religiouſly kept in the treaſury, as a ſacred inſtrument. The Peruvians were very intelligent in diſtributing water over their country, in order to increaſe the fruitfulneſs of the lands, and guard againſt droughts; they did not yield, in this reſpect, either to the Perſians, among whom the great men of the empire applied themſelves to hydroſtatics, nor even to the Moors, whoſe works in this way are ſtill admired in Spain.

With regard to the beauty and magnificence of the buildings in Peru, of the fortifications, the bridges, the canals, the cauſe-ways of that empire, and the roads as ſuperb as they were commodious, which interſected its vaſt extent, one may judge what they once were by the monuments which ſtill remain of them. The Mathematicians, who went lately thither in order to determine the ſhape of the earth, took drawings of ſome of them, and they are ſufficient to convince us of the degree of perfection to which that people, on whom we ſet no value, had carried the arts.

Among the nations foreign, if one may be allowed ſo to ſay, to our world, it is to the Chineſe, that we commonly decree the palm. The trade which we carry on immediately with them, and the great uſe we make of their in-

duſtry, contribute perhaps powerfully to the opinion we entertain of their ſuperior excellence. Be that as it may, this antient people, intent for ſo many ages upon the ſtudy of peace only, and whoſe conquerors did not heſitate to embrace its laws and cuſtoms, ſeems to us that to which we ought to adjudge the firſt rank among the moderns. The learned are yet divided in their admiration of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Chineſe; and each of theſe three people has its partizans and devotees.

Yet the Chineſe, often praiſed with ſo much enthuſiaſm, never knew how to perfect any thing. When we firſt became acquainted with them, they had obſervations from time immemorial, and could not make an almanack; tho' they uſed gun-powder and guns, they had not the leaſt idea of artillery; with their boaſts of having diſcovered the mariner's compaſs many ages before us, they were ſtill at the very firſt elements of navigation; and in fine, after having cut canals through every part of their empire, for the convenience of trade, they were obliged to learn of the Europeans the art of imbanking them. If, on one hand, we attend to that kind of beaten tract which confines them within the circle traced out by their anceſtors; and on the other, conſider how the Peruvians,

ignorant of the principles of mechanics, deſtitute of the helps it furniſhes to tranſport great weights and multiply ſtrength, without having even the uſe of iron, were able to perform works, which, for difficulty, grandeur, and magnificence, fall no way ſhort of thoſe of Rome and Egypt;*

* There were in the fortreſs of Cozco ſtones upwards of forty feet long, which had been tranſported thither from very diſtant provinces. There are about four hundred leagues of extremely difficult road from Tumipampa to the capital; and yet the Peruvians drew from thence the enormous ſtones with which the temple of the Sun was built. *Eſſais de Montagne, Liv. III. C. iv. des Coches.*

" It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that upon comparing " the one and the other" (the Indians of different countries) " with the wonderful deſcription which ſome hiſtori- " ans give of them, one cannot believe one's own eyes. " All that is related of their talents, of the different eſta- " bliſhments they once had, of their laws, and of their " policy, would be liable to ſuſpicion, if it was poſſible " to go againſt the teſtimony of ſo great a number of au- " thors worthy of credit; and if there did not alſo remain " ſeveral monuments which prove undeniably, that the " condition of theſe people formerly muſt not be judged " of by that in which we now ſee them.

" It is not to be conceived how they could raiſe the walls " of their temple of the Sun, of which the remains are " ſtill to be ſeen at Cozco. Thoſe walls are formed of " ſtones which are fifteen or ſixteen feet in diameter; and, " though rough and irregular, fit ſo exactly one with an- " other, that there is not the leaſt chaſm between them. " We ſee the ruins of ſeveral of thoſe buildings, which " they call Tambos.—Their walls are frequently of a kind " of granite, and the ſtones which are cut ſeem to have " been worn away by rubbing them one againſt another, " ſo perfectly do they fit. We likewiſe obſerved in one

I do not know which of theſe two nations will be judged to have the greateſt right to our eſteem.

But what ought to make the Peruvians be looked upon as ſuperior to every other nation, is the excellence of their inſtitutions concerning the manner of bringing up children. It is well known what great uſes an intelligent legiſlator may make of the education of youth, to give valour to cowards, ſtrength to the weak, honeſty to the wicked, in ſhort, to mould his nation juſt as he thinks proper. Chemiſtry, in adding to iron, by its proceſſes, new principles of inflammability, changes its form by the luſtre and elaſticity it gives it, converts it into ſteel, and renders it in ſome meaſure a new metal: ſuch is the prodigy which education operates every day upon men.

" of theſe Tambos ſome heads of beaſts, which ſerve for " ornament, and of which the perforated noſtrils ſupport " rings which are moveable, though they are made of the " ſame ſtone. All theſe buildings were ſituated along that " magnificent road which leads in the Cordillere of Cozco " to Quito, and even farther, which was near four hun- " dred leagues in length, and of which we have often fol- " lowed the traces." M. BOUGER, *Figure de la Terre, ou Relation abregee du voyage*, etc. Art. v.

See likewiſe M. de la Condamine's Memoir concerning ſome antient monuments of Peru, in the time of the Incas, in the volume of the Academy of Berlin for the year 1746.

Lycurgus's action, to inculcate in his countrymen a thorough ſenſe of this important truth, was perfectly judicious, and is well known. He carried one day, into the midſt of their aſſembly, two dogs of diametrically oppoſite inclinations. One of them was as familiar, as the other was wild; the former fell greedily upon all the dainties that were offered him; the other did not ſo much as ſmell at them, and ſeemed not to care for any thing but the game he catched in hunting. The Lacedemonians expreſſed great ſurprize at it. Know, ſaid Lycurgus to them, that theſe two dogs not only had the ſame mother, but that they alſo were pupped up at the ſame litter; the difference in their inclinations proceeds ſolely from the different manner in which I have brought them up.

There are in moſt cities, as a celebrated writer remarks, certain families which ſeem to diſtinguiſh themſelves from all the reſt, by their particular manners and way of thinking. It is not to the blood, which marriages vary inceſſantly, that this turn of mind, which ſeems hereditary in them, can be imputed; to explain how it is perpetuated in them, it is neceſſary to recur to the ſameneſs of education which tranſmits it from one generation to another. A child, from it earlieſt infancy, hears daily a thing com-

mended or blamed: he cannot but be ſtruck with it: in theſe firſt years, when, void of ideas, he receives greedily all thoſe that are offered him, the judgments which his parents make in his preſence, are ſo many principles which he adopts mechanically. Thus, at Rome, the Manlii were haughty and obſtinate; the Valerii affable and favourable to the Plebeians; the Appii ambitious and zealous partizans of Ariſtocracy. Without needing to ſearch into antiquity for proofs of the juſtneſs of this obſervation, we have ſufficiently ſtriking ones around us. The Japoneſe, hardened by a ferocious education, are inſenſible to the greateſt misfortunes; their unappaleable ſoul is proof againſt the ſevereſt blows of fate, they are a nation of Stoics. Before the Europeans had formed ſuch conſiderable ſettlements as they now have in North-America, armies of Scoevolas and Regulus's might have been raiſed there; and upon the coaſt of Coromandel there ſtill are Portia's every-where.

No legiſlator ever knew better than the Incas the force of cuſtom, its influence on the mind and on the body, the empire it exerciſes over nature, nor underſtood ſo well as they, how to make the education of individuals form a part of the conſtitution of the ſtate. To give at once a complete idea of the wiſdom of their regulations

in regard to this eſſential object, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that, if a young man was guilty of a breach of the laws, he himſelf was but ſlightly puniſhed, and the whole rigour of offended juſtice fell upon his father, who had neglected to direct his infant inclinations towards virtue, and to inſpire him with an early taſte and love for it; the indulgence of the parents being always the principal cauſe of the miſbehaviour of their children.

The Incas attained likewiſe of themſelves the knowlege of that important maxim, ſo deeply inculcated in the immortal writings of the greateſt and moſt univerſal of legiſlators, Lord Bacon, that in moſt ſtates it would not be neceſſary to enact ſo many laws for the reformation of mankind, if early care was taken to form the morals of children. This was the principal care of the Peruvians; and a glory which they ſhare with none but the antient Perſians; becauſe the hiſtory of their inſtitutions paſſes, with the multitude, for nothing more than a philoſophical romance.

Happy were theſe people in having for their maſters Princes equally wiſe, penetrating and judicious, who knew how dexterouſly to turn their ſubjects the way they wanted to lead them,

and never employed in their commands any thing but reaſon and example. That goodneſs and that prudence, which heaven ſeems to have deſtined for only a few favourites, appeared to be common and hereditary virtues of all the Incas. Of thirteen Kings who reigned in Peru, the twelve firſt were nearly like Trajan, that pious, virtuous, and magnanimous Emperor, who heaped happineſs and glory upon Rome, ſhewed himſelf to be the beſt of Sovereigns, and, according to the expreſſion of a great man, ſeemed to be born to do honour to human nature, and to repreſent the divine. Athualpa alone, the laſt of them, deviated from the road marked out by his anceſtors. According to Garcias-Laſſo Della Vega, he was another Caligula, and ſtudied only to overturn the eſtabliſhments of his predeceſſors.

So it was that the golden age reigned truly in Peru, and that theſe numerous people lived, during upwards of two centuries, in the happieſt ſtate that human nature can enjoy. In that ſhort ſpace, they made immenſe progreſſes of every kind. Ought one to be ſurprized at the grandeur and proſperity of an empire, whoſe Prince was leſs its Sovereign than its univerſal ſoul, and who ſo truly held all its ſprings in his own hands, that each individual ſeemed to de-

rive every motion from him; where every precaution, that prudence and foreſight could ſuggeſt, had been taken to prevent idleneſs which enervates ſtates, a diverſity of ſects which diſturbs them, and foreign wars which overthrow them; where religion and the laws were alike protected by arms; where, in fine, implicit obedience and perfect contentment were united in the hearts of all the people; which may be called the philoſopher's ſtone in politics, firſt found by the Incas?

How then could it happen, ſome one will perhaps ſay, that a handful of Spaniards ſhould ſubdue, in ſo ſhort a time, ſo great an empire, ſo well provided in every ſhape, and whoſe conſtitution was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed? But is it not natural that people, abſolutely ignorant of the art of navigation, may have been ſtruck with terror at the ſight of warriors who poured in upon them as it were from the boſom of the ſeas? Our fire-arms ſeemed to them ſo many thunders, and our horſemen ſo many centaurs: ſo that the aſtoniſhment with which our artillery, our ſhips, and our cavalry filled the Indians, was far greater than that with which the intrenchments and military machines of the Romans ſtruck the Gauls, who were dragged into

ſlavery chiefly through their admiration of their enemies.

Yet, notwithſtanding that ineſtimable advantage which the Spaniards had, of ſeeming to be beings of a ſuperior nature; they would perhaps never have ſubdued America, if chance and circumſtances had not concurred to facilitate their conqueſt of it. But, fortunately for them, Cortez found upon the throne of Mexico, Montezuma, an irreſolute and puſillanimous Monarch, who knew not how either to ſhew a confidence in the Spaniards, or to reſolve to fight them; whilſt Pizarro found Peru for the firſt time rent by factions, and at the head of that empire Athualpa, a Prince deteſted by the ſoundeſt part of the nation, who loſt, in a few days, the fruit of two hundred years labour, and contributed himſelf, as much as the Europeans, to the ruin of what the wiſdom and virtue of the new world had produced moſt accompliſhed.

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THE END.